# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Palestinians gain wider hearing via Mideast talks

PAGE 7

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# Media: U.S. rulers won 'hollow victory' in Iraq

Attempt to cover up horrors inflicted on Iraqi people

BY SETH GALINSKY

"U.S. Victory is Absolute: Post-Vietnam Military Wins 1st Full-Scale War."

That was the headline in the April 1, 1991, Washington Post. Similar headlines were in newspapers across the country.

Today, one year after the start of the 43-day air war against the people of Iraq, few in ruling circles or the newspapers they own are still singing victory. Many would now doubt President George Bush's March 1, 1991, statement, "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all."

nam syndrome once and for all."

The magazine U.S. News and World Report, for example, like most U.S. publications, was gung ho, pro-Gulf War during the conflict and continues to defend the war today. But it headlined its special anniversary feature on the war "Hollow Victory."

The Wall Street Journal claims that, as a result of the U.S. operation against Iraq, "Kuwait is free." But the Journal also complains that "one thing hasn't changed. Saddam Hussein is still standing. In fact, the White House's political woes raise the bizarre possibility that, despite his crushing defeat, Saddam Hussein actually could outlast his nemesis, George Bush, in power."

"One Year Later: War's Faded Triumph.
Oil Flows, but Saddam Endures and New
World Order is Elusive," wrote the Washington Post in its one-year analysis.

The New York Times put it this way: "A Year After Victory, Joy Is a Ghost."

For years the U.S. government had backed Saddam Hussein's capitalist regime in its war against Iran and had looked the other way when he massacred Kurds.

But when the Iraqi army invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Washington saw a perfect pretext, served on a silver platter, to try and win back some of the ground it had lost in

Continued on Page 2



Road to Basra. Tens of thousands of Iraqi troops were massacred in final hours of war.

# Des Moines protests say, 'Prosecute cops for beating of Larry Milton!'

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, IOWA—The fight over the December 28 brutal police beating of Larry Milton, a 35-year-old Black worker, continues to dominate politics here.

A community-wide meeting has been called for the Union Baptist Church on the evening of January 23. Leon Herndon, head of the Black Ministerial Alliance, and Kalon-

ji Saadiq of KUCB, have been promoting the meeting in special announcements being run on the radio station.

In factories, at political events, on radio talk shows, and in the pages of the local newspapers, the cop violence against Milton has brought to a boil the long-simmering issue of police brutality here.

Milton had called the police, fearing that

some one was trying to harm him. Three cops responded to the call, and after an initial exchange, set upon him viciously.

Police struck Milton repeatedly with a flashlight after they had handcuffed him and placed him in leg restraints. They split his head open. He had to be flown 100 miles to a hospital in Iowa City where doctors used 22 special surgical staples to close the deepest wound to his head.

Dozens of eyewitnesses say the police brutalized Milton and then attempted to kick leaves and dirt over the patches of blood and human flesh left on the ground. As the cops beat him, Milton cried out for them to stop. The cops yelled back, "Shut up nigger"—making it clear that his "crime" was being

More than a thousand people, overwhelmingly Black, attended a January 2 protest meeting and 500 jammed into the January 6 City Council session to demand justice. Out of these protests, the popular slogan "No Excuse" has emerged, countering the cop's claim that the beating was justified. Protesters have called for the arrest and prosecu-

Continued on Page 5

### Socialist candidate denounces 'anti-gang' measure

BY JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES — Eli Green, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles County Supervisor, announced his campaign at a meeting of the Board of Supervisors January 14.

Green addressed the board, opposing its action backing up an ordinance of the city of San Fernando that bars alleged "gang members" from a public park.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California had gone into federal court here in December to get the ordinance struck down as a violation of First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendment guarantees of freedom of movement and freedom of association and assembly.

San Fernando officials, acting under the ordinance and state legislation, sent letters to more than 400 young Latinos informing them that they were members of a "criminal street gang" and barred from use of Las Palmas Park. A "criminal street gang" under Califor-

Continued on Page 6

### Message from Mark Curtis to Larry Milton

The following are excerpts from a letter to Larry Milton signed by Mark Curtis and 24 other inmates in the John Bennett Correctional Center, Fort Madison, Iowa.

Dear Larry,

When we saw your beaten face on the front page of the Des Moines Register everyone in this prison was outraged. Some of us who have known you for years didn't even recognize you from the picture in the newspaper.

Chief Moulder's excuses for his officers are a cop out. He's used them in the past to cover up illegal and unnecessary force against innocent people. What the community is doing by standing up against this is something we should have done a long time ago.

There is no justification. We accept NO EXCUSES!!

The cops claim they are protecting us from illegal acts by others. But they are doing it and then covering it up. They say they protect us — but who is going to protect us from the cops?

The cops make excuses for each other. Instead of pointing the blame at themselves, they point at you, the true victim. We point at Chief Moulder and say, "He's got to go." We point at the cops who beat you and say, "They've got to be prosecuted and jailed."

Because of all the past times when officers have beat, shot, killed, and harassed people, when you stand up and tell the truth and fight, you're fighting for all those who never got any justice. You're fighting for all of us. We wish you a complete healing and recovery. We hope you don't allow what has happened to make you give up the fight. We're in your corner 100%.

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### U.S. rulers' 'hollow victory' in Iraq war

Continued from front page the region since the 1979 Iranian revolution overthrew the regime of the shah, a close ally of U.S. imperialism.

Bush was determined not to let the opportunity pass. He would draw a line in the sand against the marauding Iraqi army, he said.

Washington hoped to use U.S. military might to install a regime that would do its bidding in Iraq and shift the relationship of forces in the region in favor of the United States. As a by-product of waging a war in the Mideast, the U.S. rulers hoped to strengthen their position against their imperialist competitors and also to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome," the deep-seated opposition at home to wars, and the paralled lack of confidence of the U.S. officer caste in their ability to win in a real conflict.

To achieve their goals the rulers were willing to unleash destruction against Iraq that was among the most monstrous in the history of modern warfare. "First we're going to cut it [the Iraqi army] off, and then we're going to kill it," boasted Gen. Colin Powell as the bombing began.

On Feb. 13, 1991, two 2,000 pound laserguided bombs, known as GBU-27s, pierced the concrete and steel reinforced roof of a Baghdad air-raid shelter, killing hundreds of civilians. As word got out around the world, the Pentagon claimed it was a command bunker and they did not know there were civilians there.

U.S. News and World Report in its latest issue makes new revelations. On February 27, just hours before the implementation of the cease-fire, U.S. planes dropped two 5,000 pound GBU-28s on another bunker, the heaviest "smart" bomb ever dropped, apparently

in one last attempt to kill Hussein.

With all their mounting doubts and hesitations over the results of the war, the capitalist papers and magazines still try to downplay the death and destruction caused by the U.S. forces.

U.S. News and World Report, citing no new facts, now claims that "Iraqi casualties were probably far lower than the 100,000 estimated by the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Newsweek has also tried to downplay the massacres. In its January 20 edition Newsweek describes the carnage along Highway 6 — the Road from Kuwait to Basra.

U.S. planes had bombed the front and back of a massive convoy of Iraqis and others fleeing Kuwait, cutting off any possible movement. Trapped in the killing box, thousands were mowed down as U.S. planes dropped load after load of bombs in what one pilot referred to as a "turkey shoot." In fact, there were two roads to Basra that were attacked this way.

Trucks, personnel carriers, and hundreds of civilian vehicles lay strewn along the road," the magazine notes.

In a transparent attempt to justify shooting the fleeing soldiers and the civilians that were with them, Newsweek claims "that the convoy was not solely made up of lowly privates ... there were senior military leaders" in some of the more than 1,000 destroyed vehicles — as if that justifies in essence shooting them in the back.

#### Truth comes out bit by bit

While the "Highway of Death," as some media called it, received publicity at the time, other acts of genocide did not come to light until months later. But bit by bit

109,876 sorties were flown against Iraq. 88,500 tons of bombs were dropped.

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After a year and a half the United Nations-sponsored embargo against Iraq has caused untold suffering among working people. Above, a mother holds her starving

the truth is coming out.

In September 1991 New York Newsday revealed that from Feb. 24-25, 1991, at the beginning of the ground assault, the U.S. army equipped tanks with giant plows and literally buried alive thousands of Iraqi soldiers. The bulldozers filled in more than 70 miles of six-foot deep trenches, where as many as 8,000 Iraqis were stationed. Two thousand managed to surrender.

"What you saw was a bunch of buried trenches with peoples' arms and things sticking out of them," said Col. Anthony Moreno, commander of the Second Brigade that led

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams defended the actions. "I don't mean to be flippant, but there's no nice way to kill somebody in war," he said.

But it was not a war; it was a one-sided slaughter.

Hussein never had any intention of fighting against the imperialist army. Days before the ground offensive of Washington and its allies, officers of the Iraqi army abandoned the front. Iraqi soldiers were left leaderless. As the U.S. troops advanced, tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers surrendered.

In the handfull of cases where Iraqi soldiers did fight, it was not the cake-walk that the rest of the offensive turned out to be.

U.S. News and World Report describes a battle three days into the ground offensive. Three U.S. platoons ran into a unit of Iraq's Republican guard. Unlike most of the Iraqi forces, they fought back, scoring hits on several U.S. armored vehicles. The U.S. platoons were forced to retreat.

Even without any real resistance, the famed U.S. military technology was not all it was cracked up to be. The army now admits that the much-vaunted Patriot antimissile system failed more than 50 percent of the time in Israel. Although the Pentagon claims a higher success rate in Saudi Arabia, this is disputed by a former Pentagon advisor who says the system experienced "an almost total failure."

There were 109,876 sorties flown against Iraq and 88,500 tons of bombs were dropped. Great publicity was given to the accuracy of the computer-guided, or so-called "smart" bombs, used by Washington and its allies. But 94 percent of the tonnage was from the old-fashioned "dumb" bombs. A big percentage of these bombs missed their target, causing great destruction in the vicinity.

Newsweek, in its feature article "The Day We stopped the War," asks, "Did the fighting end too soon?"

The massacre on the road to Basra did not totally finish off the Iraqi forces, the magazine complains. A fleet of Iraqi helicopters and 500-700 tanks escaped.

"Today many senior U.S. military officers and civilian officials believe that decision [to halt the bombing] was a mistake," Newsweek

"The real complaint with the military the reason Desert Storm now leaves a sour taste in the mouths of many American military people - is that the timing of Bush's cease-fire order stopped allied forces just a few miles short of their final objective.'

But neither Newsweek normost other bourgeois critics argue that the U.S. forces should have gone all the way to Baghdad. They offer no alternative course of action that might have reversed Washington's inability to make significant political gains out of the war, aside from continuing the massacre of the fleeing Iraqis for another day. Bush ended the war because the imperialists believed they had achieved their objective without engaging in a conflict inside Iraq that they felt would have carried an unacceptably high cost in U.S. and allied casualties.

#### 'Lies, lies, and more lies'

For many working people the debate is not over how long the massacre on the road to Basra should have gone on. Instead, many workers who supported the war, believing White House rhetoric that this was a war to defend freedom for Kuwait, are now questioning whether it should have taken place at all.

The New York Times interviewed Norman Madison, whose 27-year-old son was killed in a Scud missile attack in Saudi Arabia in the final days of the conflict.

Madison said that in February 1991, as he waited for his son's body, he still believed the war was necessary. No longer.

"What really burns me up is that nothing has changed over there," Madison said. "Our President sits around waving his flag like he did something. He didn't do anything. Nothing. My son is dead. What did he die for?"

"They lie and lie and lie and it never ends," Madison stated. "The war was about oil. My boy died for oil."

The growing disillusionment takes place as the world heads into a depression. "Cheers for Gulf War Fade as U.S. Economy Stagnates," noted the Christian Science Monitor on January 10

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### Alberta premier targets French language

#### BY NANCY WALKER

VANCOUVER, Canada — A January 9 announcement by Donald Getty, premier of the western Canadian province of Alberta, calling for repeal of the Official Languages Act, or "official bilingualism," sent a shock wave into capitalist politics in Canada.

"The time has come when bilingualism should be removed from the force of law," Getty told an enthusiastic, table-pounding audience of Edmonton businessmen. "We need to find new ways to remove the irritants among us, and bilingualism has become such a symbol across the country."

Canada's language laws are supposed to guarantee "equality of status and equal rights and privileges" regarding the use of French and English in the federal parliament and in federal courts and social services.

Nervous federal and provincial politicians scrambled to distance themselves from Getty's statements. Prominent Liberal Party politician André Ouellet of Ottawa's parliamentary constitutional committee complained: "He is certainly putting the united Canada that we know in a very difficult, awkward situation."

Getty's announcement deepened Ottawa's political crisis over how to resolve the Quebec government's ultimatum of greater national rights and governmental powers for Quebec or face a referendum on sovereignty. Eighty percent of Quebec's population is French-speaking. The Quebecois, who are nationally oppressed, face systematic discrimination as a French-speaking minority in Canada. One million other French speaking people living outside of Quebec also face discrimination on the basis of language.

The Conservative federal government led by Brian Mulroney is trying to muster forces behind a national unity campaign that can win the Quebec provincial government to "renewed federalism" and to sign the Canadian constitution adopted in 1982. Above all, the rulers are seeking to settle their crisis without provoking a new rise of struggles for national rights in Quebec.

The Official Languages law has its roots in the 1960s and the Canadian rulers' response to the growing movement for national rights in Quebec protesting the legacy of almost a century and half of oppression.

### Bilingualism — minimal services

While providing minimal French-language federal government services for francophones outside Quebec, the policy of bilingualism was designed as a substitute for meaningful affirmative action policies aimed at overcoming systematic discrimination against francophones across Canada. At the same time the policy further codified in law the privileged status of the separate English language school and social service networks in Quebec.

Ottawa's official language laws thus veil continuing, deep-rooted inequalities. In reality, there is no provincial government recognition of the rights of French speakers outside

#### The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,

by Frederick Engels.
Introduction by Evelyn Reed.
Traces how the oppression of
women and the structure of the
family have their origin in changes in
the relations of economic production
and ownership. 191 pp. \$13.95.

### Woman's Evolution,

by Evelyn Reed. Assesses the role women played in the first stages of human civilization and refutes the myth of women's naturally subordinate position in society.

491 pp. \$21.95.

Women and the Family, by Leon Trotsky. The impact of the Russian revolution on women's fight

for equality, 78pp. \$8.95.

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3.00 for postage and handling for first title, \$.50 each additional title.

of Quebec and, in part, the province of New Brunswick.

Contrary to the claims of capitalist politicians, it is francophones who face systematic discrimination on the basis of the language they speak, not Quebec's English minority. Francophones are paid lower wages, suffer higher unemployment, and receive inferior education, health care, and social services even in the province of Quebec where they are the majority.

A majority of children from French-speaking families in Ontario, whose French-speaking population is more than 500,000, do not have access to French-language schools. Francophones across Canada face much higher illiteracy rates and, especially outside Quebec, are concentrated in low-paid, unskilled jobs.

In Alberta, some 50,000 people, concentrated around a few dozen mostly rural communities, claim French as their mother tongue. But they have almost no access to French-language social services or schools. This contrasts sharply, for example, with the network of English schools, universities, libraries and hospitals that serves the English-speaking minority in Quebec, and which is much better funded than the facilities serving francophones.

In 1988, the Getty government enacted a law restricting the use of French by the Alberta government, complaining that Ottawa's policies "shove bilingualism down our throats."

The "enforced bilingualism" decried by Premier Getty and his call for "bilingualism by choice, not by law" are code words for an attack on Quebec's national rights and French-language rights throughout Canada. His statement and the discussion it has stimulated reflect a political polarization in Canada on the issue, including among capitalist politicians themselves, as does the appearance of ultrarightist groups and parties dedicated to defending "English rights." The latter openly blame French-speakers and immigrants for social conditions that are worsening as the recession goes into its second year.

The 1991 provincial elections in New Brunswick, whose population is 35 percent francophone, registered this polarization. More than 20 percent of the vote was won by the ultrarightist Confederation of Regions (COR) Party, which campaigned vociferously against bilingualism. "English New Brunswickers have been knocked down these past 20 years," declared party leader Arch Pafford.

According to COR, both health and education could be improved if "bilingualism was stopped." In a recent statement, COR spokesman Daniel Cameron complained about federal spending on language policy: "This is just money down a rat hole." COR denounces the "frenchification" of Canada.

Throughout 1989 and 1990, the Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada (APEC), another ultrarightist outfit, mobilized anti-Quebec and anti-francophone rallies across Ontario. Over 40 towns and cities declared themselves "unilingual English" as a result. Ontario governments, including the current New Democratic Party government, have historically rejected the demand that the province establish French as an officially recognized language along with English.

The Reform Party, a right-wing capitalist party, echoes this chauvinist campaign albeit with less strident demagoguery. Founded in 1987, the Reform Party claims 62,000 members and has substantial support in opinion polls, particularly in Alberta. Among its central planks are proposals to scrap official bilingualism and further restrict immigration. In June, the Reform Party's first major event in Toronto attracted 6,000 to a rally on these themes.

Premier Getty's Conservative government, already in last place in the Alberta polls, recently took a major blow when a senior cabinet minister defected to the Reform Party. Some observers have described his attack on bilingualism as a desperate effort to shore up an unpopular regime by scapegoating francophones.

The attack on bilingualism is part of a broader political assault on the concept of affirmative action. In addition to the drive against policies aimed at overcoming discrimination against francophones, Getty also demanded an end to federal government funding of "multicultural" programs for immigrants, Blacks, and various non-English-speaking minorities. Since everyone is "equal," he claimed, there should be no special recognition of "hyphenated Canadians" — French-speaking, Chinese, Latinos, etc.

In the days following the Getty statement, Ontario New Democratic Party Premier Robert Rae and a number of other capitalist politicians warned Ottawa not to give Quebec special powers or decentralize federal government powers to meet Quebec's demands, further polarizing the debate over Quebec's national rights.

## Participants at socialist weekend conference discuss culture, role of family in class society

#### BY ESTELLE DeBATES

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — The Midwest Socialist Educational Conference held here the last weekend of December provided for a lively discussion among youth who attended. The conference was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. In addition to the article on the conference that appeared in the January 17 Militant, some further topics raised in the discussions deserve reporting.

A class on "The Origins of Anti-Black Prejudice and the Myth of Race" was given by Doug Jenness. Jenness pointed out in his presentation that a leaflet distributed by the White Student Union at the University of Minnesota said one of the group's goals was to promote "white culture." Rejecting the notion that there is such a thing as "white culture," Jenness also suggested that the working class, for all intents and purposes, has no culture. Some participants raised the idea that Blacks do have a culture that should be defended and preserved.

Jenness explained that V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian revolution, wrote quite a bit on the subject of culture. Lenin argued that the dominant culture in capitalist society is that of the rulers, and, insofar as there is any alternative working-class culture, it lies in what workers will create through the international fight for a new society. Jenness argued that this is also true of oppressed nationalities under capitalism. One participant said that rap music was an example of Black culture, a form of protest against the conditions imposed on the Black community. Another responded to this that rap music, like all forms of art generated from the Black community, was taken up, packaged, and exploited by capitalists, Black and white.

Many questions and comments about the role of the family came up under the class entitled "The Origins of Women's Oppression" by YSA leader Kate Kaku. Kaku's presentation was based on the book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* by Frederick Engels. Kaku explained that the rise of private property many centuries ago marked the "world-historic defeat" of the female sex, turning women themselves into property and subjecting them to domestic slavery in the family system. She argued that the social organization of humanity into the family system is reactionary—



Youth at conference discussed roots of anti-Black prejudice and women's oppression

it is how the rulers organize us. Kaku pointed out how the family is held responsible for tasks that should be the responsibility of society as a whole.

Kaku explained that reinforcement of the family, along with religious faith and patriotism, are the central slogans of ultraright forces, which seek to return women to their traditional roles of housewife and mother.

One participant said that, while the family system should be examined, it is important not to be "antifamily." Others explained that communists do not campaign against the family but fight for the tasks relegated to the family — such as care and education of children and looking after the sick and elderly — to be taken over by society as a whole, through such institutions as quality day-care centers and hospitals available to all. This is the road to advance the fight for women's equality and to strengthen the working class.

One conference participant noted that Black politicians and many political activists in the Black community raise the need to strengthen the Black family which is being tom apart. This view is advanced in popular films, such as *Boyz N the Hood*. The same idea is being put into practice in a number of cities by the organization of schools exclusively for Black males, who can suppos-

edly thereby come under the influence of teachers who will provide a male role model missing at home.

Kaku argued that the working class has no interest in defending or glorifying the family and has much to gain by fighting for the liberation of women.

Discussions among participants in the educational conference on many of these questions took place throughout the weekend — over lunch and dinner, and at a social organized after the Militant Labor Forum on Saturday night. Many participants felt they learned from the conference presentations and discussion, but found they had even more to study. Many left the conference armed with books suggested by the organizers of the weekend, such as The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State; Malcolm X on Afro-American History; and Leon Trotsky's The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany.

Socialist educational conferences are planned for mid-February and early March in Boston, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Toronto. For more information, call the Pathfinder bookstores in these cities, which are listed in the directory on page 12.

# Activists in Detroit defend Mark Curtis

BY ROSE ANA BERBEO

DETROIT — Working people must not allow themselves to be divided by racial lines or any other barriers, homeless activist Karen Schaumann told a rally to defend Mark Curtis held here January 11.

"Mark Curtis was defending the rights of working people and what are homeless people, people on welfare?" Schaumann asked. "We're unemployed workers."

Curtis is a political and union activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year jail sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

Schaumann, who has helped organize protests against mass evictions of Michigan residents whose welfare benefits were cut off, was one of a panel of speakers at the rally.

The speakers called for Curtis's release and backed his civil suit against the Des Moines police for the savage beating he received at the time of his arrest.



Militant/Rose Ana Berbeo
James Lyle, IAM Local 141.

About 50 students, garment workers, meatpackers, and other unionists and political activists attended the rally. Maurice Geary, a long-time Detroit activist, led the rally in spirited chants and appealed for financial support. About \$1,150 was raised for the campaign to win Curtis's parole.

As part of the fund-raising effort, Ignacio Meneses, a leader of the Justice for Cuba Coalition, donated a bottle of Cuban rum to be raffled off.

Jim Lyle, shop steward and member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 141 and an activist in the 1989 Eastern Airlines strike, presented the Mark Curtis Defense Committee with a check for \$213 collected from dozens of coworkers.

Lyle asked everyone to shake hands with a person next to them.

"I wanted you to do that because that individual might be the next person thrown in jail as an activist," Lyle said. "That individual might be the next person beaten by police."

The rally was cochaired by Mark Friedman, a member of IAM Local 141 and the Socialist Workers Party; and Dan McCarthy, president of United Auto Workers Local 417, who brought a message from UAW International Representative and civil rights activist Nathan Head.

Well-known civil liberties lawyer Leonard Grossman, who represented the defendants in the Attica prison rebellion and other cases, said Curtis's case is clearly one of political persecution.

Grossman recalled the Attica case, the Eastern Airlines strike, the case of Leonard Peltier, and other cases of jailed political activists and asked, "What is the common thread that runs through all of this? These are people who are working for a humane, just world. Curtis deserves freedom; he's not getting it. He deserves justice; he's not getting it."

Gina Aranki of the Palestine Aid Society compared Curtis's defense to that of the Palestinian people against the Israeli government in the occupied territories. "It's as though he's a microcosm of the struggle around the world for civil, human, and po-





Militant photos by Rose Ana Berbeo

Gina Aranki of the Palestine Aid Society and SWP leader James Warren

litical rights for all people," she told the rally.

Curtis's persecution is an indication of increasing class tensions as the worldwide economic crisis worsens, said James Warren, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, of which Curtis is also a member.

Warren described how Curtis, at the time of his arrest in 1988, was involved in a fight to win his union's support for immigrant coworkers victimized in a raid by immigration cops at the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines.

"We face a situation of tensions between those who benefit from the exploitation and brutality of people around the world and those who don't," Warren said. He explained how the issue of immigrant workers is used by the bosses to divide workers and weaken the unions.

"You put labels on people, and they stop being part of our class," Warren pointed out. They call people 'homeless', 'criminal'."

Warren said the immigration police raid in Des Moines that brought about the protests Curtis was involved in was not an isolated incident. Meat-packing union locals had lost a big fight in the Midwest against the companies' attempts to lower the value of meat-

packing workers' labor power. The raid reflected the fact that a growing percentage of the industrial workforce is young and immigrant, Warren noted.

"Either we defend all of us or we have no union," Warren said. "This is what Mark stood for and why they considered Mark dangerous. They framed up Mark not because he's a socialist, not because of what he said, but because he acted. Because he joined in the fight."

Warren explained how Curtis faces a countercampaign against his release that is led by the Des Moines police and Iowa state government, certain union officials, and an outfit called the Workers League, which calls itself "socialist."

The Workers League is known for its attacks on unions during strikes. The group orients itself to a layer of workers demoralized by the employer's strikebreaking attacks and the default of inadequate leadership on the part of the union officialdom.

Certain layers of the union officialdom feel threatened by Curtis and other rank-andfile workers like him who defend their immigrant coworkers, Warren added. "They look at Mark and they see a threat to them and to the unions and the way they are run."

Detroit city councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey sent a message of support to the rally. It read in part: "Mark Curtis is a victim of government and big business collusion against people who speak out for immigrant rights. Mark Curtis must be freed."

The student newspaper at Eastern Michigan University interviewed organizers and participants at the rally and carried a story on it the following Monday.

Among participants in the rally were two youths who drove up from Cincinnati, Ohio, and three students at the University of Windsor in Canada who learned about the rally from an article in the Detroit *Metro-Times*.

### Threatened layoffs provoke strike in Britain

BY HELEN ARTHUR

MACHESTER, England — Workers at the GEC Alsthom plant here began a strike against compulsory redundancies [layoffs] January 3. The majority of the 450 workers are members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Others are members of other unions affiliated to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

In September the plant bosses announced that they wanted to cut back the work force by 95, by convincing workers to voluntarily accept redundancy [buy-out] payments. When it became clear that this figure would not be reached, the management proceeded to issue compulsory redundancy notices to 12 workers.

In response, a mass meeting overwhelmingly called for strike action. The decision to strike was confirmed by 69 percent of union members in the plant in a secret ballot.

Picket lines involving up to 70 workers have been maintained since the start of the strike. Only 10 workers have crossed the line. One union member explained, "We have to do something this time. If the management gets away with this, it's the end of the union's strength here. There are no other jobs to go to out there."

This strike is the first major action by engineering workers in Manchester against lay-offs since the early 1980s. It follows a period which has seen a series of major layoffs and plant closures throughout the industry.

At a January 14 meeting with the unions, the company offered to withdraw the initial list of 12 compulsory redundancies, but stated that a further 130 job losses would be necessary over the next months. They demanded that the unions accept the principle that the bosses can carry out compulsory dismissals. Union leaders' rejection of this move was ratified by a meeting of the entire work force January 16.

Support for the strikers is starting to come in from other unionists. Workers at other GEC plants have donated £1,200 to the strike fund and have visited the picket lines to show

their support and find out about the strike. A team of strikers has toured major engineering and food plants. Pickets were excited by the fact that they succeeded in turning away a truck bringing components from a GEC plant in Belgium.

The picket line is alive with political discussion. One worker referred to the fact that GEC Alsthom also owns major plants in France and that the bosses try to pit workers in France and Britain against each other. "The workers at the GEC plants in France are being told the same thing in French as we're being told here," he said. "They tell us that we have to compete and that foreign workers are after our jobs."

Helen Arthur is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union at Brooke Bond Foods in Manchester.

### Pentagon proposes expanded list of nuclear targets

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The Pentagon is discussing new plans for targeting U.S. nuclear weapons at "every reasonable adversary" around the world.

A proposal for this plan is contained in a 44-page report drawn up at the request of the Pentagon's U.S. nuclear targeting director. This plan proposes the most sweeping change in strategic targeting since the start of the nuclear age, according to its authors, a group of present and former Pentagon officials.

While the report recommends halving the U.S. nuclear arsenal to 5,000 over the next few years, it makes clear that Washington's central goal is to remain the world's undisputed nuclear power.

For years the U.S. government focused a large portion of its nuclear warheads at the Soviet Union. The new plan calls for expanding the list of targeted countries to include some in the Third World, while continuing to target the former Soviet republics.

"Successor authorities in the former USSR may not be our cold war enemies, but neither are they our reliable, stable allies or friends," states the report.

These changes are also designed to ensure that Washington maintains its vast nuclear superiority over its imperialist rivals. U.S. nuclear arms should remain significantly higher than those possessed by France and Britain, the report recommends.

The report also concludes that maintaining

a substantial U.S. nuclear arsenal will play a part in deterring Germany and Japan from developing nuclear weapons.

The specific countries to be placed on the new targeting list remain a secret. However, Thomas Reed, a former secretary of the air force who chaired the panel issuing the report, pointed to a few of the Pentagon's goals. This includes Washington's proclaimed aim of deterring aggression against states such as Israel and Taiwan and protecting U.S. access to important raw materials such as oil.

### Cross-burning in New Hampshire

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

MANCHESTER, New Hampshire — Late on December 13 a cross was burned in front of the home of Jerome and Patrick Taylor, a Black family in Litchfield, New Hampshire. Neighbors noticed the burning cross and called the police who extinguished and removed it.

The police did not notify the Taylors, who had not seen the incident. They only found out about the cross-burning when their children were asked about it at school the next day. The Taylors have lived in the mostly white suburb of Manchester for seven years.

The police handling of the attack, which the cops termed "probably a prank," prompted a protest by Lionel Johnson, a state representative. Johnson, until recently head of the Manchester NAACP, criticized the fact that the police did not bother to check on the safety of the Taylors after finding the burning cross outside their home. The state's attorney

general's office has announced it will investigate.

Johnson said in an interview that the crossburning was the first that he could recall in New Hampshire. But he also pointed out that a cop had been fired last year from the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, police force for openly recruiting to the Ku Klux Klan.

The NAACP is part of a coalition that has waged a fight for years to get New Hampshire to proclaim Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday. Until this year, New Hampshire, which is 98 percent white, was one of only three states that did not mark the holiday. In 1991 a compromise bill was passed to celebrate "Civil Rights Day" on January 15.

The state's largest newspaper, the Manchester *Union Leader*, has attacked King as "immoral" and "communist influenced." The newspaper is campaigning heavily for Patrick Buchanan in the February 18 state primary.

### Police brutality debate grips Des Moines

Continued from front page

tion of the cops involved. Many have urged that Police Chief William Moulder, who has defended the beating while apologizing to Milton, should resign.

Sgt. Joanne Pollock and Officers Steven Strawser and Thomas Heller are the three cops identified as being involved in the beating. They have been reassigned to a special burglary detail and continue to patrol the streets since the protests began.

Blacks and others outraged by the police beating have continued to seek every opportunity to discuss cop violence, to protest it, and to press for prosecution of the cops responsible.

Any meeting publicly built to discuss how to fight back has drawn dozens of community residents looking for how to act effectively.

KUCB radio, the only station in Des Moines based in the Black community, has turned hours of broadcast time each day over to an open-mike phone-in discussion of the issues involved.

Hundreds of people call in. Many report beatings they or people they know have been subjected to. Some support the cops, or argue that there are only a few "rotten apples" on the police force. Others say residents need to keep protesting until the cops who beat Milton are prosecuted. While most callers are Black, some are white. They say that they too have faced police violence and have been inspired to speak out by the mobilization in defense of Milton.

"I am just a white woman on the east side who had never listened to your station," one caller said. "But now I listen every day. There is 'no excuse,' and we've got to make this stop."

Derek Bracey, national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, came to Des Moines to participate in the discussion and the protests. On one KUCB show he spoke about his recent trip to South Africa. He described the tremendous fight to overthrow apartheid that is unfolding there. He extended the YSA's support to the struggle to win justice for Larry Milton.

Numerous smaller meetings have been held. One, held January 11 at the Wilkie House, a Black community center, led to a debate over the character of the police.

The Des Moines Register reported that one participant, Maurice Williams, who is a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, expressed the opinion that cop brutality is endemic to police departments; the role of the cops is to terrorize and brutalize working people. He joined in calling for Chief Moulder to resign. Another meeting participant, Pam Williams, chair of the Community Support Force, opposed the idea. "This particular committee has had a good working relationship with the police and with Chief Moulder," she said.

At another meeting held the same Saturday, church leaders attacked Kalonji Saadiq, the general manager of radio station KUCB, claiming that the station was inciting violence by hosting a free-speech forum over the airwaves.

One minister opposed further public action, stating "street demonstrations are

Priscilla Schenk, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and member of the United Auto Workers, disagreed. "Street demonstrations are not violent," Schenk said. "In fact, we need more public actions to press and press until we succeed in getting the cops prosecuted. We can only rely on ourselves." After much discussion, the meeting resolved to support the "No Excuse" demand.

That night, dozens of community residents attended a Militant Labor Forum at the Pathfinder Bookstore. The meeting had been mentioned on a TV news program the night of the City Council meeting. The forum also was announced over KUCB.

Sara Lobman, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Des Moines and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 431, spoke on behalf of the Des Moines Young Socialist Alliance. "We must continue to meet, to organize, to publicly protest. Larger numbers can be won to demand the cops be arrested and prosecuted. A victory around this demand would change the relationship of forces between us and the cops, it would push them back. It would open room for hundreds more who have been victimized to press their fight for justice.

One forum goer explained that she had attended the City Council meeting, and had

been talking about what to do with her neighbors. She said they all decided to get a permit to stand outside the City Jail and sing in protest. She asked others to join them.

The owner of a Black advertising company spoke, explaining that he and a friend had decided to put out T-shirts with the picture of Milton and the slogan "No Excuse" on the front and "It could have been me" on the back. Profits from the sales will go to Milton.

#### Police counter-campaign

The police and their political backers have responded to the public outcry by launching a massive campaign of slander and character assassination against Milton. They have attempted to rally public support, coupled with issuing threats against people who have stepped forward to denounce the beating and demand justice.

The Register had put the picture of Milton's swollen and sutured face on the front page after he came forward following his beating. Interviews with eyewitnesses to the cop brutality also appeared in the paper. But the coverage has now shifted to present a sympathetic view of the cops' story. The paper reprinted in full, for example, the police report filed by Sgt. Joanne Pollock after the beating.

Stating that she had been dispatched to the area to deal with "an unknown problem," Pollock wrote that Milton "asked for our help and asked us to take him to jail if we had to."

Claiming she smelled alcohol on Milton's breath, Pollock said she "instructed him to walk over to the van and place his hands on the van."

Rather than offer assistance to Milton, Pollock writes, "I decided he should be arrested for public intoxication. His actions indicated he was also on some type of drugs."

Pollock claims that she and two other officers attempted to cuff Milton, and he resisted violently. There was a lengthy scuffle. "I tried to kick him in the groin area but was unsuccessful," she says. She sprayed mace in Milton's face twice.

"All Officers were tiring from fighting with Milton. Milton did not appear to be tiring out. Officer Heller at this point took his flashlight and struck Milton in the head. This was the only exposed area of Milton available to try and get him subdued. Officer Heller struck Milton several times in the head and Milton did not react as if had been hurt," Pollock writes.



Larry Milton, after his brutal beating by Des Moines cops December 18.

Other officers arrived. Pollock claims that with their help, they were able to get Milton restrained and then took him to the hospital.

More than \$3,000 was raised to place an ad in the January 9 Register, signed by the Des Moines Police Burial Association and the Des Moines Police Bargaining Unit. The ad is headlined, "Have you heard the police side of the story." The ad attacks Milton, saying he has "a proven history of violence" and was under the influence of "an intoxicating level of alcohol and a massive amount of cocaine known to produce bizarre and violent behavior."

"Some have proposed a Board of Social Activists to second guess police action," the ad argues. "The enemies of law enforcement will never be satisfied unless the review body is composed of people who already hate cops."

The cops use this line to argue that residents of the Black community will be the losers if their actions are subject to public review. "Most violent crime is in the model cities area of Des Moines," the cop promotion says, trying to argue that the cops defend working people. "The victims are most often poor and Black. The police stand up for those victims in real and practical ways."

Pointing the fact that Sgt. Pollock is a member of the Des Moines police internal committee to provide "sensitivity training" to cops on how to deal with "minorities," the

Iowa Association of Women Police organized a demonstration in support of the cops under scrutiny for the beating. The demonstration of 125 was held inside the Des Moines Police Headquarters. The cops supported the three officers, said the force used was necessary and justified, and criticized the early media coverage in the *Register*.

The Register turned its letters to the editor section over to the cops on January 15, printing six letters from cops, their wives, and supporters. Brent Curtis, a cop in the Criminal Investigation Division, wrote to attack the remarks of former SWP candidate Sara Lobman before the City Council meeting. Lobman had quoted from the cop's own Operating Procedures for use of force, which details ways police can attack their victims.

"By taking these out of context," the cop wrote, "those guidelines sound gruesome and inhumane.

"A criminal who initiates a physical attack on a police officer will be met with at least equal force," he adds, making it clear that they do use brutal violence. "Further, if someone attempts to take a police officer's weapon, it is a deadly threat, and the police may respond in that manner."

The Register did print one letter that criticized the police. "Until reading the report of Police Sgt. Joanne Pollock I had assumed the Des Moines police were justified in using extreme force to subdue Larry Milton," writes John Black, "even though that force seriously injured Mr. Milton. Reading Sergeant Pollock's statement changed that."

Black explains that, after reading the cops' own version of the beating, he is convinced that there is no justification for what they did.

Some liberal political figures in the city have urged the cops and City Council to reverse their stance and install a policereview board. They argue that such a board, if carefully structured, would in fact be the best way to divert and dispel protest against police brutality.

"The police have fought the proposal with abandon, not ever comprehending that the sword they so much fear has two edges, that a review board protects them as much as it threatens by shredding the kinds of phony charges they were confronted by in the Mark Curtis case," writes James Flansburg, a columnist in the Register.

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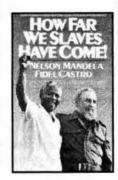
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What is American Fascism? Writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Senator Joseph McCarthy. By James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. \$8 (discount price \$6).

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For a full selection of titles on discount during Black History Month or a copy of the Pathfinder catalogue, or to order the above titles, visit any Pathfinder bookstore listed on page 12 or write to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, include \$3 for shipping and \$.50 for each additional item.

### Makers hid dangers of silicone implants

#### BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Tens of thousands of women throughout the United States who have silicone breast implants are living in fear and anxiety as an investigation into the implants' safety continues. The investigation has revealed that manufacturers of the implants ignored many-years-old evidence that the devices leaked silicone into women's bodies. The manufacturers continued to market them despite the lack of knowledge about the effects of silicone on body tissues and internal organs.

Of the estimated two million women who have received implants, 80 percent did so in order to enlarge their breasts. The remaining 20 percent got implants after breast removal due to cancer.

At a January 6 press conference the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) announced a moratorium on distribution and insertion of silicone breast implants. Dr. David Kessler, commissioner of the FDA, said the agency "could not assure the safety of these devices at this time."

Silicone implants first appeared on the market in the early 1960s. It is estimated that 100,000 to 150,000 breast implant operations are now performed annually. Over the past three decades, the government, the manufacturers, and the medical profession have allowed the use of implants to proceed while there was growing evidence women's lives were endangered.

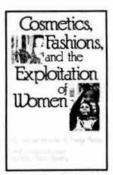
The announcement on the moratorium came after the FDA convened a panel of experts who over the last few months reviewed information about the implants' safety and considered new data.

At the press conference, Commissioner Kessler addressed several of the problems now linked to the implants as he announced the FDA decision. "We still do not know how often the implants leak, and when they do," said Kessler, "we do not know exactly what materials get into the body. We still do not know how often the implants break, or how long they last.... There are reports that painful hardening of the implant can occur in anywhere from 10 percent to 70 percent of patients. We still do not know to what extent the implants interfere with mammography examinations [tests to detect breast cancer] . . . whether the implants can increase a woman's risk of developing cancer. And we still do not know enough about the relationship between these devices and autoimmune and connective tissue diseases."

But the facts show that, long before this

-FROM PATHFINDER-

# Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women



By Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters

This volume contains a lively 1954 debate over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the exploitation of women. It discusses how the standards of beauty and view toward work are determined in capitalist society. 144 pp. \$11.95

Available at Pathfinder bookstores (see directory on page 16) or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Send \$3 for shipping and handling. investigation, some of the health risks were known, although not by the patients. The *New York Times* reported that as early as 1967, Dr. Henry Jenny, a plastic surgeon, noted that the implants "leaked so much silicone that they were covered with a greasy film and left large spots of grease when laid down." Jenny also found the implants to rupture 16 percent of the time.

Jenny and a colleague went on to conduct experiments on a woman who had her implants removed. They found silicone had gotten not only into her body tissue, but into her bloodstream. It was later proved that the leaky implants bleed silicone into various body organs including the spleen, liver, and bone marrow.

In 1978 Jenny reported his findings to the FDA and asked that they remove the silicone implants from the market until the effects of silicone in the body were determined. No action was taken.

Silicone implants did not require any testing until 1976 when Congress passed a law mandating regulations. Not until 1982 did the FDA announce that implants must be proven safe and then in 1988 put them in the category of most stringently regulated medical devices.

The investigation has forced Dow Corning, the nation's largest manufacturer of the silicone implants, to release internal documents on the matter. Dow Corning is a joint venture between the Dow Chemical Company and the Corning Corporation. Chief of Dow's health care businesses Robert T. Rylee admitted that the company's studies did not test women to see if they had silicone in their bodies or check for symptoms of autoimmune disease, and that the studies were conducted largely on women who had the implants inserted for five or fewer years. However, Dow still claims to have carried out adequate studies that prove the devices safe.

#### Tested on women before animals

Some of the company's memos were made available to the New York Times, which reported "the documents showed that safety studies considered critical by scientists for the company were put off for more than a decade, that the company had implants inserted in experiments on women before they had tested them in animals, and may have never tested its breast implants in animal breasts for safety, but instead used other sites in animals."

In a memo dated 1977, one Dow employee admitted he had made a misleading statement to plastic surgeons asking whether Dow was conducting studies. "I assured them, with crossed fingers, that Dow Corning too had an active study under way," said the memo.

One high company official, fearful of the future, reported to his superiors in a 1983 memo on his concerns about the company continuing to say the implants did not leak or rupture. "I feel this should be given top priority because of the volume of existing business, the extensive population of already-implanted devices."

Along with the manufacturers of the implants, physicians who perform breast implants have profited greatly over the past 30 years. They too have joined Dow in denouncing the FDA moratorium. Dr. Mitchell Karlan of the American Medical Association said at the press conference, "There will be absolute hysteria among women." He claimed doctors already knew implants were safe. "We already have the data, the experience of the physicians," he told reporters.

Since the FDA moratorium was announced, advocacy groups, doctors, medical societies, and manufacturers have been flooded with calls from women demanding answers on the safety of implants and what they should do. Some groups are still defending the implants and organizing to keep them on the market. Others are leading a fight against them. Many are expressing fears, like Shelia Swanson, founder of the Northern California Y-Me chapter, an advocacy organization for breast cancer patients. Swanson, who had two implants after her breasts were removed for cancer, said, "They were supposed to be emotionally and physically a help, but they're time bombs . . . another poison in your body."

The FDA advisory panel will be reconvened on February 11.

### Victory in North Carolina autoworkers strike

#### BY FLOYD FOWLER

PORTLAND, Oregon — A real victory was won by the workers who struck the Freightliner truck plant in Mt. Holly, North Carolina on December 3. Shortly before Christmas Freightliner agreed to the union's main demands.

United Auto Workers Local 5285, newlyorganized and negotiating its first contract, crippled production at the plant, and won its strike in less than a month.

Freightliner is a subsidiary of Daimler-Benz, a worldwide truck and auto giant. Buttressed by new infusions of Daimler capital, the company is muscling aside competitors in the stagnant U.S. truck market and expanding sales into Mexico, Central and South America, and the Middle East.

The Mt. Holly and Gastonia, North Carolina, factories were opened as nonunion plants and the bosses meant them to stay that way. Here the threat of a company attempt to break the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Freightliner hung in the air ever since.

This strike won Mt. Holly workers an immediate 8.7 percent wage increase and in addition each worker received a check, averaging \$2400, to make up for two raises the company denied them over the last two years. Wages and benefits, including for workers in those classifications (notably truck assemblers) still making less than their Portland



Picket at Freightliner truck plant

Truck Plant counterparts after the immediate raise, will reach parity with wages here in Portland by 1994.

Four workers fired before the strike have been rehired, and disciplinary files on all workers are being thrown out. One of those rehired was Stanley Roseboro, a prominent union activist. Roseboro, fired last spring as part of the company's intimidation campaign, received back pay.

Most importantly, the Mt. Holly work-

ers successfully defended their new union. Other workers in North Carolina (and many workers at the Freightliner plants here in Portland) are taking heart from this victory. As Local 5285 President Dean Eason commented, "Workers are calling us from factories all over the state who want to organize."

Floyd Fowler is a member of IAM Lodge 1005, and works at Freightliner's Portland, Oregon, Truck Manufacturing Plant.

### BY ROBERT DEES

MT. HOLLY, North Carolina — We were walking away from the plant gate at the big Freightliner assembly plant when a pick-up truck pulled up behind us. A man wearing a United Auto Workers jacket yelled, "Hey, is that the *Militant* newspaper?"

"Sure is."

"Let me get one of those," he said.

UAW Local 5285 was voted in by the workers here in April 1990. For the next 20 months, the company stalled, refusing to sign a contract, so on December 3, 1991, the union struck the plant. The strike was successful, and on December 20 union members overwhelmingly ratified their first contract.

"The turning point in the negotiations was the strike," explained bargaining committee chair Dean Eason. "When reason and logic fail, the ultimate weapon is to withhold your labor."

### Socialist candidate denounces 'anti-gang' measure

### Continued from front page

nia law is a group with two or more members who have been convicted two or more times of felonies within the past three years.

Once notified, these youth can now be given a citation if they set foot in Las Palmas Park.

The five county supervisors, liberals and conservatives alike, voted unanimously to support San Fernando officials in their legal fight with the ACLU and to consider implementing a similar ban in other parks in the county.

Park and Sheriff Department officials will be asked to recommend which parks to include. A shooting incident last summer, where a mother and three children were wounded in Las Palmas Park, was the pretext for adopting this measure. County district attorney Ira Reiner helped draft the San Fernando ordinance and a similar one in the city of Pomona.

Speaking prior to Green, Reiner said the ordinances had been "drafted carefully" because of "constitutional problems." He insisted that "this ordinance works," as did the mayor and police chief of San Fernando and

two Catholic Church community activists.

Green is an oil refinery worker and a member of Local 1-128 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). Following are excerpts of the statement he presented to the board of supervisors:

"I oppose and urge all of you to oppose Supervisor Michael Antonovich's recommendation to support the City of San Fernando's ordinance barring alleged 'gang members' from public parks.

"People do have the right to freely assemble in a public park. And, young people have the right to freely assemble in a public park without being assumed by the cops to be guilty of the 'crime' of gang affiliation without due process.

"Armed with an ordinance like this, County Sheriff's deputies would have carte blanche to go after youth, especially Black and Latino youth, who are regularly brutalized by the cops.

"I know from personal experience that Black men of any age group can expect harassment. I work at Arco L.A. refinery in Carson. Almost every one of my Black and Latino co-workers has had bad experiences at the hands of the cops. Many of my co-workers who are white have been harassed or have witnessed cop harassment. And many working people are aware that more use of cops in this manner lays the basis for the legitimization of police attacks on striking workers as the economic crisis deepens.

"The Las Palmas Park ordinance falls right in line with the attempt to turn young people who are Black or Latino into social pariahs. They are stigmatized as gangsters. Their unemployment rate is five times that of whites.

"I want to conclude by pointing out that the problem of crime does not start with ghetto and barrio youth. There is ample evidence that the drug pipeline originates in neither San Fernando nor Watts. Criminality starts at the top. Only when working people ourselves begin to mobilize and fight back against the ravages of a deteriorating social system will the problem of crime, including drug-related drive-by shootings, be effectively defeated."

Joel Britton is an oil refinery worker and a member of OCAW.

# Palestinians get wider hearing through Mideast peace talks

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — By the time the second round of peace negotiations with Israeli officials ended January 16 the Palestinian people had clearly gained a wider hearing for their views in their struggle for self-determination.

Israeli negotiators abandoned the talks as the government in Israel entered a serious political crisis. On January 15 the far-right Tehiya Party withdrew its support for Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's government. Moledet, another right-wing party, announced it would follow suit, depriving Shamir's Likud Party of a majority in parliament.

The rightist parties withdrew their support from the Israeli government to prevent it from offering any proposals on Palestinian territorial autonomy.

Palestinian delegates from the West Bank and Gaza began face-to-face talks with Israeli officials for the first time ever January 13. In the most significant development in the talks, the Palestinians presented a proposal for transitional self-government in the West Bank and Gaza.

The plan calls for internationally supervised elections to pick 180 deputies for a Palestinian national assembly which in turn would pick an executive. All Palestinians in the territories captured by Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war would take part in the elections. "This includes those who are political prisoners or have been deported," said Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation.

Under the Palestinian proposal, Israeli soldiers would be pulled out of populated areas in the occupied territories immediately before the elections, in mutually agreed phases, to points along the border. A Palestinian internal security force would be set up and controlled by the governing authority.

The Palestinian government would have jurisdiction over "the land, natural resources and water, the subsoil, and territorial sea and airspace." All the powers now exercised by the Israeli military and civilian authorities would be "transferred to the Palestinian self-government," said



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Hanan Ashrawi, spokesperson for the Palestinian delegation at peace talks.

Ashrawi in a press conference.

The source of authority for Palestinian self-rule "is the Palestinian people themselves," Ashrawi added. "We also have to ensure that the land is not separated from the people. We cannot talk about self-government of a people without land."

#### Palestinians denounce settlements

The Palestinian delegation strongly protested the escalated Israeli settlement activity in the West Bank and Gaza. Ceasing all further settlements "will be a prerequisite to the success of negotiations," Asbrawi said

On the night of January 14 Israeli settlers set up trailers in five locations near Palestinian villages in the West Bank and Gaza. This, said the Palestinian delegation in a press release, "is a move designed to create facts by fiat and to undermine the basis for current negotiations."

In addition, a vigilante gang of settlers attacked the home of Bir Zeit University professor Riyad Malki, smashing the windows of his house and terrorizing his wife and one-month-old baby.

One of the settlers is Likud Member of Parliament Michael Eitan, who announced he was establishing his office in a trailer near Nabi Samuil, a Palestinian village between Jerusalem and Ramallah.

The Israeli army evicted settlers from outposts in two West Bank sites in Hebron and near Jenin. A third outpost in the Gaza strip town of Deir al Balah was also reportedly vacated.

Eitan and the other rightist settlers said their acts were to protest the peace negotiations as well as the ambush of an Israeli bus and car in the West Bank January 14 in which seven people were wounded.

Zalman Shoval, Israeli ambassador to the United States, said, "Palestinians will have to decide whether they are angels of death or angels of peace." He demanded an apology for the ambush.

"We condemn all these acts of violence, including this ambush," responded Ashrawi. "But every day there are Palestinians killed, wounded, their houses demolished. There are hundreds of Palestinians detained and tortured in Israeli jails. If the Israelis want to wield these demands of apology from us as a policy they will have to spend two hours a day apologizing for their own activities," she said. "If we start a competitive process on moral standards then Israel clearly will come out as the loser."

During the month following the Mideast peace conference in Madrid, eight Palestinians were killed and more than 100 wounded by Israeli army bullets; 26 Palestinian homes were demolished; and 6,500 acres of Palestinian land were expropriated.

Ashrawi asked that the U.S. government reject a request from Israel for \$10 billion in loan guarantees to build housing for immigrants. "This cannot be separated from the issue of settlements especially since Israel has allocated 25 percent of its housing budget this year for new settlements," she said. There are plans to build 97,000 new Israeli housing units on the West Bank. More than half of the land in the West Bank and one third of the Gaza Strip are already under Israeli control.

Israeli officials recently acknowledged they would have to settle for much less than their \$10 billion request.

"Especially since the Gulf war, Israel has become less of an ally and more of a strategic liability for Washington as far as foreign policy is concerned," said Ashrawi.

While in the United States, Palestinian delegates have had their voices heard in many places besides the halls of the State Department. Ashrawi addressed the convention of the National Organization for Women January 10. Haider Abdu Shafi, head of the delegation, traveled to New York January 16 for several speaking engagements, including at the United Nations.

Israeli negotiators did not present any proposals during the talks. Ambassador Shoval said the Palestinian proposals on self-rule were unacceptable because in effect they asked Israel to cede full control of the West Bank and Gaza. But the Israelis agreed to treat the proposal as an opening position for discussion in the next round.

Las had b

Last December three Korean women who had been forced into prostitution in China filed suit in Tokyo demanding compensation. Periodically there have been demonstrations in Seoul, South Korea, denouncing the Japanese government for failing to face this crime.

Japan admits it forced Korean women into prostitution

The Japanese government of Kiichi

Miyazawa admitted January 13 that the Jap-

anese army forced tens of thousands of Ko-

rean women to become prostitutes during

forced into prostitution in Japanese-occupied

China and Southeast Asia at the time. They

were forcibly taken from Korea, which was

a Japanese colony from 1910 until Japan's

Many of the women, referred to as "com-

fort girls," were brutally beaten or killed.

Estimates on the number of Korean women raped by Japanese troops run from 60,000 to

1945 defeat in World War II.

The vast majority of the women were

World War II.

Japanese foreign minister Michio Watanabe offered his "heartfelt apology" but said there would be no official compensation. "I am troubled that the abominable episodes have been unraveled," he said.

#### As Britain deploys more troops in N. Ireland, bombings increase

In mid-November the British government deployed 1,400 additional reserve troops on active duty patrols in Northern Ireland. In addition, hundreds of police officers were ordered to patrol on extended 12-hour shifts. London said this was in response to a recent wave of bombing attacks.

The Irish Republican Army has recently initiated a series of bombings, vowing to step up its campaign to drive the British out of Ireland. Britain has occupied the northern part of Ireland for centuries. An explosion at the heart of the British government quarter in London January 10 disrupted traffic but caused no injuries. This came on top of six weeks of incendiary bombings at subway stations in London.

In Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland, five powerful car bombs have devastated the city center over the last six weeks, leaving many high-rise offices unable to be occupied. Another bomb heavily damaged a police headquarters in Londonderry January 10.

#### Washington presses Libya to hand over suspects in bombings

The governments of the United States, Britain, and France circulated a draft resolution at the United Nations January 10 asking other countries to press Libya to hand over security agents accused of bombing two passenger airlines.

The two agents have been arrested by the Libyan government, which has offered to try them in Libya or hand them over to an international tribunal. Washington and London have rejected the offer. The two Libyan nationals are accused by the U.S., British, and French governments of bombing a Pan Am flight over Scotland in 1988 and a French airliner over the Sahara in 1989.

Washington, London, and Paris have waged a campaign to blame the Libyan regime of Muammar el-Qaddafi for the bombings. Qaddafi's government has denied the charges.

### Headline stories in the news

Yugoslavia: In a move spearheaded by Germany, all 12 members of the European Community, as well as Austria and Switzerland, recognized the independence of the former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia January 15. Washington has so far refused to follow suit.

Algeria: A "state council" of army officers and some former officials of the National Liberation Front-led government assumed power in Algeria January 14 after forcing the resignation of president Chedli Benjedid. The move came after the Islamic Salvation Front won 44 percent of the vote in parliamentary elections. It was expected to win an absolute majority of seats in the January 15 runoffs, which were cancelled. The Salvation Front, the National Liberation Front, and the Front for Socialist Forces have demanded that the runoffs be held.

### Farmers devastated in 1991

### BY SETH GALINSKY

Nineteen ninety-one was devastating for many small farmers. Two sets of statistics released by the U.S. Department of Agriculture at the end of December show the depth of the farm crisis today.

On December 31 the USDA reported that the prices farmers received were down 3.5 percent from a year earlier. For some products, like vegetables, prices to farmers dropped 17 percent.

A few days earlier the Agriculture Department released the report Owning Farmland in the United States.

According to the report, "U.S. farmland is held by fewer owners now than at any other time in this century."

Among the highlights of the study:

 Both the number of farmers, including those who own their own land and those who rent, and farm owners, including those who only rent out the land they own, is at the lowest level in this century.

At the end of 1988, the report says, there were less than 3 million farmland owners, down from 4.5 million in 1960.

- About 44 percent of U.S. farmland is now rented out to farmers, a marked shift from the past when most farmers owned most of their own land, paying a mortgage to the banks.
- Within the reduced number of farmers and owners, however, the distribution of land among those who own or work it has not changed much over the last 50 years.

In 1988, 47 percent of farmland belonged to the 4 percent of farm owners with 1,000 acres or more. In 1946, 41 percent of farm land was held by the 3 percent of owners with 1,000 acres or more.

More than 30 percent of farms in 1988 were smaller than 50 acres, accounting for less than 2 percent of the total acreage, roughly the same as thirty years ago.

• While total acreage of farmland has

declined slightly since 1950, it is "slightly more than in 1900," the report points out, "while the average farm size has more than tripled."

Doug Jenness, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, explained this trend in a 1985 article published in *New International* No. 4.

"When working farmers are squeezed until they are forced off their farms, it is only in the exceptional case that the land becomes part of a capitalist 'factory in the field,' "Jenness noted. "Occasionally such land is withdrawn from agriculture for use in housing, shopping centers, or other commercial development.

"Most often," he pointed out, "it is either rented or sold out to neighboring farmers, or to another farm family that takes over, shoulders the risk, and tries to make a go of it. The banks and commercial capitalists continue raking in profits."

The crisis in dairy farming is a case in point. Many dairy farmers are receiving 25 percent to 30 percent less for their milk than it costs to produce it. While prices paid to the farmers have decreased, prices for milk at the store have stayed about the same.

Working farmers charge that large corporations, like Kraft General Foods, are making high profits at the expense of dairy farmers and workers who buy milk at the market.

According to Gary Bigger, a farm business consultant in western New York interviewed by the *Christian Science Monitor*, "We're looking at a quarter or one-fifth of [milk] producers who are going to go out of business every five years."

The decline in the number of farms and farmers does not mean a decline in the importance of the food they grow or the livestock they raise.

In 1930 one farm worker or farmer produced enough farm products for 10 people. In 1982 one producer produced enough for 78.

### ANC leader explains goals of revolution

### Struggle is to end 'racism, oppression, exploitation,' says Walter Sisulu

### Introduction

#### BY GREG McCARTAN

Reprinted below is the speech African National Congress deputy-president Walter Sisulu gave to the Eighth Congress of the South African Communist Party. The meeting was held outside of Johannesburg December 5-8. Sisulu presented his remarks as a representative of the ANC to the congress.

In his speech Sisulu explains several of the key tactical approaches and programmatic perspectives of the revolutionary democratic movement led by the ANC. He outlines the broad goals of the struggle against apartheid and the means by which those goals can be achieved.

The ANC has come under increasing criticism from some organizations in South Africa, who claim the organization is capitulating to the apartheid regime. Most attack the ANC from the "left" - stating the ANC is dominated by middle class layers and does not represent the interests of the toilers in the

One of the most outspoken is the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The political basis of their split is described in an article by Jack Barnes in New International No. 5. The article, entitled "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," takes up the character of the revolution, how a communist leadership will be forged in the country, and the tasks of apartheid's opponents around the world.

Writing of the PAC, Barnes says that "a minority within the ANC, however, opposed the Freedom Charter. It objected in particular to the Charter's statement, 'that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and white." The Charter was adopted by the Congress of the People at a meeting near Johannesburg in 1955.

"These opponents of the Charter," he writes, "counterposed their notion of 'Africanism' to the goal of uniting all sections of the oppressed Black population, as well as whites, in a revolutionary movement aiming at the destruction of the white supremacist state and the conquest of power by the work-

They failed to distinguish between the place of Africans in the forefront of this revolutionary struggle - a place assigned to them by the structure of South African society - and the goal of a nonracial democratic republic, with full citizenship rights for all."

Turning away from the course of "seeking allies among all races and all progressive classes for the struggle for national liberation," Barnes writes, they "couterposed an Africans-only movement to a revolutionary democratic movement struggling for state power as the road to winning land, nation-

From Pathfinder Further reading on South Africa

New International no.5



Special issue on southern Africa

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83 pp. \$7.95 Also available in Spanish Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Add \$3 shipping and handling.

hood, and a democratic republic. For them, 'Africanism' was not a step toward internationalism, but a step toward an antiwhite, and antiworking class, orientation.'

This analysis of why the PAC split from the ANC in 1959 holds true today. Moreover, the history of the struggle in South Africa has confirmed in practice which perspective that of the ANC or PAC — could lead the revolutionary struggle forward.

True to its perspectives of uniting all possible forces in the struggle, the Mandela-led ANC has reached out to the PAC since both als, middle-class layers, and others away from supporting the white-minority regime. AZAPO, the PAC, and those allied with them portray this as a danger to the struggle, rather than a sign of its strength.

#### Other attacks

Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, an AZAPO leader, told the Sowetan newspaper that the ANC's political course "was merging with that of the regime and the liberal establishment."

History has shown, he said, that in the midst of struggles "a section of the liberation



African National Congress rally in Durban, South Africa, July 7, 1991.

organizations were unbanned two years ago. They were able to get the PAC to participate in an October meeting of some 90 anti-apartheid organizations called the "Patriotic Front." The united front meeting called for the establishment of an interim government and election of a constituent assembly at the earliest possible date.

But the PAC then refused to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the first round of full-scale negotiations between the government and all political parties in the country. The meeting was held December 20-21.

### ANC 'joining government's scheme'

"A section of the oppressed is the object of joining the government's grand scheme,' PAC president Clarence Makwethu said of the ANC in the days before Codesa. "Our only wish is that we do not have to wait 30 or more years for these so-called leaders to realize their error."

Makwethu was speaking after a PAC conference unanimously decided to boycott the negotiations. South African newspapers report delegates repeatedly chanted "One settler, one bullet," referring to whites, and "Down with Codesa" during the meeting. PAC leaders said they would only discuss establishing a constituent assembly in negotiations with the government.

Along with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the Workers Organization for Socialist Action, and the New Unity Movement, the PAC said it would launch a "Death to Codesa" campaign.

AZAPO boycotted both the Patriotic Front meeting and Codesa. Leaders of the organization objected to the fact that officials from some of the 10 Bantustans - rural and poverty-stricken areas set up by the regime as "homelands" for Blacks — attended the Patriotic Front conference. They also protested the presence of parties that currently represent the Indian and Coloured populations in the widely discredited tricameral parliament.

As the anti-apartheid struggle has deepened, many of the most reactionary Bantustan officials have been toppled. The revolutionary struggle and the central leadership of it by the ANC has drawn these forces, libermovement and its leaders" is co-opted. "We are about to witness a new alliance between the old bosses and a new induna [a boss or head of a clan] class."

Among those who cast suspicions on the ANC leadership's ability to advance the interests of the county's working people are some officials of the South African Communist Party. In an interview in the Weekly Mail, SACP general secretary Chris Hani said that the party's role is to focus on the aspirations of the working class and the poor in a way that the ANC, as a multi-class organization,

"The poorest people of our country need the Communist Party," he said, "because communists have to hold the ANC to "radical ideas on socio-economic matters.

"We have supported the ANC on the basis of these policies," he said, referring to the Freedom Charter's demands that the "mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks, and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the people as a whole.'

Claiming that ANC president Nelson Mandela had indicated he was backing away from these provisions of the Charter, Hani told the Mail that "any departure from that program would lead to a situation where some of us would have to reassess our role in the African National Congress."

As far as the SACP's role in the negotiations goes, the party's assistant general secretary told the Weekly Mail that "the party will also look at the interests of the working class, which when this type of discussion takes place, normally tends to be sub-

In the speech printed below, Sisulu explains how the ANC is an organization that consistently represents and advances the interests of working people. It has fought to "rid the country of the scourge of institutionalized racism, national oppression, and exploitation," he says.

The speech also shows how revolutionary struggles, in which millions are engaged in the fight for power and to bring down the old social system, cannot be led by organizations spouting ultra-left verbiage.

Instead, a revolutionary leadership must advance the political consciousness and selfconfidence of the broadest numbers possible;

should always have a good estimation of the enemy's strength so as not to provoke premature confrontations; must take the ground that is possible at each stage of the fight, thus weakening the regin:e and widening space for political action on the part of the toilers; and work to extend the organization of all who want to join the struggle.

My Dear Comrades,

It is a great honor for me to address this Eighth Congress of the SACP on behalf of the African National Congress. When South African Communists met at the last legal national forum of the party on the eve of the adoption of the "Suppression of Communism Act" of 1950 not many people — even within the party itself - believed that the party would withstand the vicious onslaught that the nationalists unleashed on it. The very fact that this historic congress is taking place here in Johannesburg bears testimony to the resoluteness, tenacity, and perseverance of the SACP. That the Communist Party survived 40 years of persecution is also due, in no small measure, to the rock-solid bond between the party and the national liberation movement.

This bond between the ANC and the party is a product of the struggle; it is a bond forged and tempered in the crucible of a common resolve to rid our people and our country of the scourge of institutionalized racism, national oppression, and exploitation; it is also a crucial part of our present and future struggle. Our bond was not formed overnight. It took a long time before the ANC and the Communists overcame suspicion of one another.

We took a long time before we learned to understand and respect one another. Revolutionary giants like Moses Kotane, Jusuf Dadoo, J.B. Marks, Abram Fischer, Ruth First and many others played an important role in dispelling mutual mistrusts. Having found each other we began to act jointly in the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people. During this period we gained a lot from one another and, in no small way, contributed to each other's political and ideological development. The 70 fighting years of our alliance have brought us much closer to our cherished goal of freedom for all our people. It is therefore with deep pride and great joy that the ANC extends to you warm and fraternal greetings on this most important

Your Eighth Congress is taking place at a very crucial time in the history of our country. Never before, in our long and arduous march to freedom, have we been so near to victory. The more the reason why we should act purposefully, decisively, and resolutely to ensure that liberation is not delayed a day longer. We are, therefore, called upon to defend the gains we have made so far and advance the cause of total liberation.

Since the last congress of the SACP our struggle has been elevated to new heights. Through our joint efforts and those of other democratic formations not only have we compelled the regime to unban the people's organizations, release most political prisoners, and allow exiles to return home, but we have also succeeded in persuading them to accede to the demand for a peaceful negotiated settlement. These are our rightful victories and we must claim them.

We have managed to register these victories basically because we have acted in unity and united in action. Our common efforts have produced a qualitatively new situation - a situation which demands a much broader unity that extends beyond the traditional revolutionary forces. We have therefore sought to engage other patriotic and progressive forces in pursuit of our common objective of destroying apartheid and national oppression. As a result of this initiative we formed the Patriotic Front. We are therefore determined, even in the face of futile attempts to weaken it, to further strengthen this new and important vehicle of struggle.

The African National Congress is more than satisfied with the progress made thus far in preparations for real and genuine negotiations. We are pleased that at last a date has been set for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. As we enter this terrain it will be imperative for our alliance to ensure that

Continued on Page 9

#### Continued from Page 8

the end product of this forum will be agreements on the convocation of an elected constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity.

As we gear ourselves for negotiations we are only too aware of the many and difficult challenges ahead. We shall be called upon to carry the masses of our people along with us as we have done in the past. We must therefore constantly engage our structures and all other patriotic forces to ensure that the decisions we arrive at are truly representative and reflective of their aspirations and interests

If we are to succeed at the negotiating table we should strengthen our unity, for our liberation struggle requires not only broad unity; it also requires tight unity at the center. It requires a powerful engine that propels the liberation movement as a whole. That engine is our alliance, in particular the unshakable alliance between the ANC, SACP, and CO-SATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]. With such a force we are in a position to guide the key components of our struggle and ensure that the alliance leads the entire community of oppressed and democratic South Africans.

Ours is a national liberation struggle, whose main objective is not only the attainment of formal political freedom. We in the ANC and indeed in the entire alliance recognize that the freedom of our people will



Militant/Ruth Haswell

Walter Sisulu (right) with Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo at July ANC conference

mean little if they have the vote but have no houses nor land. It will be of little satisfaction if they still send their children to schools that provide gutter education, if they have totally inadequate health care, if they remain jobless, or those with work get pitiful wages.

We in the ANC believe that a conscious effort has to be made to ensure that the social and economic imbalances and inequalities of the past are redressed and that the economy be developed to ensure growth and also provide a better life for all.

Those who because of the color of their skin have been denied their fundamental rights need special provisions to ensure that these are restored to them. The democratic state will have to take active steps to provide land to the landless, homes to the homeless, education to the underprivileged and deprived.

To deepen national liberation beyond purely political rights is a shared principle of the entire alliance. True to the spirit of the Freedom Charter, the ANC, SACP, and CO-SATU are committed to ensuring that all our people share in the wealth of our country. It is our combined efforts that will determine whether or not the liberation of our country has any meaning for ordinary people.

It is said that we are in the final phase of our liberation. This may be true, but we need to recognize that the resistance of those who have been benefiting from apartheid all these years is yet to be broken. We need to recognize also that those who seek to protect white minority privileges may retreat from one defense only to hold their line at another point. In this regard, therefore, it is incumbent upon us to exercise maximum vigilance.

In conclusion, I would like to wish you well in your deliberations. I am certain that these will be an important contribution toward the success of our struggle for a united, democratic, nonracial, and nonsexist South

Long live the Tripartite Alliance! Long live the SACP!

### Pathfinder books now sold across South Africa

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

"Right now there's a big thirst for political discussion and study among workers and young people in South Africa. That's why Pathfinder books were received with so much excitement," explained Pete Clifford from London, who spent a month in that country as a Pathfinder sales representative.

In November, Clifford, together with Rich Stuart from Pathfinder's home office in New York, undertook the first trip to South Africa to begin to establish long-term distribution, sales, and readership of Pathfinder's books there. The sales visit came after Pathfinder received steadily increasing requests from South Africa for books. They visited bookstores in cities and towns around the country, including Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, Pietermaritzburg, Grahamstown, and rural communities in the Bophuthatswana Bantustan. They also met with activists in the mass struggle against apartheid.

Why did Pathfinder send its first sales team to South Africa now? "Because of the advances being made by the revolutionary democratic movement there over the last two years, including the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of Nelson Mandela," Stuart told the Militant. "These gains have created more political space for working people and others. People are hungry for the kind of books Pathfinder puts out, like the ideas of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, the lessons and history of the Russian revolution, and the experience of the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada."

"Previously," said Clifford in a phone interview, "the apartheid government had been able to ban such books through the Objectionable Literature Law and other repressive measures. The Struggle Is My Life, Mandela's autobiography, was banned for years. The fight against apartheid has broken through many of these restrictions.

"Even so, when we arrived we didn't find Mandela's speeches available in South African bookshops, only some books about him. So people were very excited when they saw Pathfinder's collections of his speeches. They wanted to read and study them.'

He remarked that the recent Pathfinder title How Far We Slaves Have Come aroused a great deal of interest. This book includes the speeches given by African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela and Cuban president Fidel Castro last July 26 in Cuba. The two revolutionary leaders describe how thousands of Cuban volunteer troops, Angolan forces, and Namibian freedom fighters crushed the South African army's invasion of Angola in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in 1988. In his speech Mandela explains that this victory shook the apartheid regime to its foundations and led to the independence of Namibia, the unbanning of the ANC, and Mandela's freedom.

The South African government continues to lie about its war in Angola, claiming it won the battle at Cuito Cuanavale," Clifford said. "There is some confusion in South Africa because most people there don't have access to the facts, although they suspect the government's version. When people heard about the new Pathfinder book they were very excited because they wanted to find out the truth."

For the same reasons, Clifford pointed out, the Pathfinder representatives found a big interest in the publisher's numerous books of Malcolm X's speeches and writings. "Bookshop managers told us many people had been coming into their shops asking for Malcolm's books," Stuart noted. "They had heard of his reputation as an uncompromising antiracist fighter but few had been able to read his works and get a serious grasp of his revolutionary working-class perspective."

The Pathfinder sales team also found great interest among political fighters in the fundamental programmatic questions of Marxism. Clifford described how "Bookshop managers would tell us the discussion about socialism is far from over - in South Africa it's just beginning," said Stuart. "For example, the bookshop at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town ordered 100 copies of The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Another buyer looked through the Pathfinder catalog and ordered all the titles by the Marxist writer George Novack. When we arrived in South Africa the New Nation, a weekly antiapartheid newspaper, was running a series on the history of the Russian revolution. So you can imagine the response we got to Pathfinder's titles on that subject, particularly books by Leon Trotsky," a leader of the 1917 Russian revolution.

Stuart added, "There's a big discussion now in the whole country on the fight for women's rights. So the pamphlet Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle by Thomas Sankara and other Pathfindertitles on this question aroused a lot of interest."

The largest orders for Pathfinder titles came from campus bookstores, particularly the University of the Western Cape - with mostly Black students - and the University of Natal in Durban and the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, with mostly

white students. This, Stuart added, "reflects the political ferment and discussion among students at these campuses."

As a result of the trip Pathfinder books will now be in South African libraries, another place where many working people will have access to the facts and ideas they are seeking.

The team arrived in South Africa right after workers had carried out the most massive general strike in that country's history.

We were told that unionized industrial workers are the most eager to study socialist literature," Stuart said. "The manager of a political bookstore in Johannesburg, Phambili Books, told us they set up literature tables at union events and that's where they get their best book sales."

Clifford and Stuart visited the national ANC headquarters and several regional of-

fices around the country, as well as the national offices of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the National Union of Mineworkers, and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa. "The ANC leaders and unionists we met were happy to know Pathfinder books would now be available to their members. Several ANC and COSATU leaders remarked that they knew Pathfinder from when they had been in exile in Canada, Sweden, and elsewhere."

By the end of the trip, the Pathfinder team had taken book orders for 7000 books and pamphlets, with more orders to follow. "It was a tremendous success," Clifford commented.

Stuart explained that they "introduced Pathfinder to bookstore managers by showing them a color

photograph of the Pathfinder Mural so they could immediately see what kind of publisher we were." The mural, painted on the side of the Pathfinder Building in New York, depicts the revolutionary leaders whose works Pathfinder publishes. Bookstores ordered a total of 300 posters and 300 postcards of the portraits of Nelson Mandela and Malcolm X on the mural.

The Pathfinder team also showed a video on how the mural was created, at three schools, the Johannesburg Art Foundation, the Alexandra Arts Centre, and the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg. A typical response of the students who saw the video was to eagerly ask, "Where can I get these Pathfinder books?"

Stuart added, "Now we can say, 'In bookstores all around South Africa.



Militant/ Greg McCartan Pathfinder supporter Mary Zins talks with delegates to the **ANC Youth League Congress in December** 

# Socialist leader: We're at start of depression

#### BY GREG McCARTAN

MONTREAL — The growing effects of a social and economic crisis marking the early stages of a world depression. The end of what was portrayed as the "crisis of socialism." Its replacement by the extension of the crisis of the market system to Eastern Europe and the components of the former Soviet Union. Why working people are the only class capable of resolving the catastrophe now spreading around the globe in the interests of humanity.

These were the themes of a talk at the Militant Labor Forum here January 3 by Jack Barnes. Barnes is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, an organization of communist workers in the United States.

"We are living through one of the great turning points of history," he told the well-attended meeting at the city's Pathfinder Bookstore. Noting the many opinion columns, newspaper articles, and TV shows discussing the grim outlook for the new year, Barnes said that "underneath all of these prognostications is the attempt by millions of working people to understand and figure out how to do something about the conditions they face. The mounting impact of the social crisis and its grinding length shakes anyone's acceptance that capitalism is strong."

In Canada, the United States, and other imperialist countries "depression conditions already exist," he said. "It doesn't look like the pictures associated with the depths of the Great Depression in the 1930s. But the cumulative impact of the 15-year assault on workers' wages, conditions on the job, together with rising long-term unemployment, have pushed tens of millions into poverty or one paycheck away from it."

North America is currently in its longest recession since the 1930s. Each month the number of food stamp recipients reaches record highs, and so do the numbers who need these and other social security benefits but do not receive them. At the same time resources for social welfare programs have been cut.

"We began looking at the acceleration of the economic crisis of capitalism in a new way after the crash of the world stock markets in 1987," Barnes said. "That event demonstrated that the period of post-World War II expansion had ended. The collapse of the stock markets signalled that the devastating conditions already existing in most semi-colonial countries and among some sections of the working class in the imperialist centers would soon begin to spread."

"The stock market crash in 1929 was not immediately followed by a consciousness among working people that what became known as the Great Depression had begun," the SWP leader said. "There was an upturn in the capitalist business cycle at the end of 1931. But within a few years the extent of the catastrophe became clear. The beginning of the equivalent of a depression doesn't simply announce itself."

#### Impact of economic downturn

"Every bourgeois economic 'expert' says that Canada is in the worst downturn since the 1930s," he said, "and that it is heading the same way in the United States. Unemployment figures less and less reflect the actual numbers out of work, as those who have given up looking for a job are no longer counted. Industrial production continues to fall and the number of corporate bankruptcies is the highest since the late 1970s."

Despite claims that the downturn is primarily hitting "white collar" employees, Barnes said that "this is not a special kind of recession. Great blows are being dealt the industrial work force in manufacturing. The whole world is watching Germany; a sharp downturn there would announce an economic disaster of a scale not seen for half a century."

Noting the rapid rise of the U.S. stock markets in the closing weeks of December,



Homeless woman in Moscow sleeping behind grate. The so-called crisis of socialism is over, said Jack Barnes. 'A new catastrophe has now emerged in the former Soviet Union: the crisis of the market system.'

he said that "before the explosion in stock prices last week, Wall Street had its worst year in the last 25. The heightened stock prices are a result of the attempt to free up the dollar" through the federal government lowering interest rates. But rather than invest the cheap money in factories and equipment that would expand production, billions are being used to speculate on the stock market.

During the discussion period a number of those attending the forum described the deteriorating social and economic conditions in Canada. Declining access to health care, rising long-term unemployment, incidents of police brutality across the country, and pressure on wages were described by several working people at the meeting. (See articles on facing page.)

#### Crisis of the market system

Barnes said that workers in the United States and Canada can look at pictures of their counterparts in Eastern Europe and the republics of the now-defunct Soviet Union and see common problems: the universal crisis of the market system, a lack of working-class leadership to chart a course forward, and ultrarightists within and without the "respectable" bourgeois parties getting a hearing through social demagogy and chauvinist assaults on immigrant workers.

"What was called the 'crisis of socialism' is over. A new catastrophe has now emerged in the former Soviet Union, one that gets integrated into the worldwide breakdown of capitalism. That is the crisis of the market system," Barnes said.

Officials of the countries that made up the USSR are attempting to universalize the capitalist market, publicly explaining their aims. As in Eastern Europe this has not brought about any economic recovery, but more hardships and shortages for working people.

"There is nothing positive happening today in any of these countries," Barnes said. "The horror working people face in the Soviet Union is accelerating. The decline from 1986 to today is mild in comparison to what will happen now.

"To understand what is going on in the Soviet Union it is necessary to understand the phenomenon called Stalinism and the depth of the degeneration of the goals pursued since Stalin came to power compared to those of the leadership of the 1917 revolution," he said. "The original goals were perverted and a new social layer displaced the political power of working people through brute force and widespread terror."

The head of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, and others in the ruling bureaucratic layer have ceased "pretending they have any ideas at all on how to solve the downward spiral. Instead they get down and worship commodities and the market and pray for Adam Smith's invisible hand to lift them up."

What these officials are doing has nothing to do with calculated "reforms." It is a "blind, desperate, and unplanned adventure."

Working people's social wage is being slashed, prices on basic food items raised out of reach of many, and the savings of broad sections of the population are simply being wiped out as the ruble loses its value, he said.

"We see the same kind of economic catastrophe and bitterness growing up as there was in Germany after World War I," Barnes said. For decades imperialism has told workers in the Soviet Union that widespread introduction of the market was the way forward. "There will grow an increasing tendency on the part of working people, as well as middle-class layers, to blame western powers for their condition."

#### A deep resentment

A deep resentment will grow up, he said. This can help get rid of illusions in capitalism and capitalist governments, but also open workers up to nationalist demagogy as well. This can lead to sharp polarizations and conflicts inside and between the various countries as the crisis deepens.

"What working people must face there is the same thing workers in Japan, the United States, Germany, and Canada must face," Barnes said.

The modern working class's greatest problem, he said, "is its view of itself. This is the case both for individual workers and the class as a whole. The working class does not think that it is capable of running society; there is no automatic connection between the knowledge that 'they' are messing things up to the idea that 'we' can change it and run society."

"This economic and social crisis," the SWP leader said, "is the crisis of the imperialist ruling families: it is their crisis. There is less of a 'world order' than at any time since World War II."

### Politics of the right

The rightward shift in bourgeois politics in the imperialist countries and the unfolding depression breeds demagogues and the politics of the right. Capitalist politicians will emerge out of the established parties who take an ultrarightist course.

"The danger in this is that working people

Continued on Page 12

## Campaign to sell socialist periodicals off to a good start

### BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

This is the first week of regular coverage of the efforts by socialists active in nine major industrial unions in the United States to sell single issues of the *Militant* to fellow unionists. The drive runs from mid-January through mid-March.

Next week the goals for *Militant* subscription renewals and sales of the new Pathfinder book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!*, which contains speeches presented by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro in Cuba last July 26, will be added to the chart.

In addition to special sales efforts in the plants, Militant supporters in New York City have decided to organize to sell 150 Militants each week. Supporters in other cities might want to follow New York's example. From Des Moines, Iowa: Fortyfive Militants featuring coverage of protests there against the brutal cop beating of Larry Milton were sold in just two days. Four Militant and 1 Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions were purchased as well. Students at Hoover High bought 3 copies. Sales teams were well received at the United Food and Commercial Workers union-organized Swift-Monfort meatpacking plant and at Firestone Rubber. Des Moines supporters rush-ordered 70 additional papers on top of their original bundle of 100.

In central Illinois, a Militant sales and reporting team on the scene to cover the ongoing strike by United Auto Workers (UAW) union members against Caterpillar Inc., sold a total of 50 papers at several different worksites.

At Caterpillar's Mapleton foundry, which employs 500 workers and is still operating, 6 UAW members bought *Militants* prior to the arrival of company security. In **Pontiac, Illinois**, where 90 percent of the local members participate in the union's adopt-a-striker campaign, 11 workers picked up *Militants*.

Workers at the Diamond Star Parkway plant have organized solidarity with the Caterpillar workers. Twenty picked up a copy of the paper.

At the Freeman United Crown No. 2 mine, which is organized by the United Mine Workers of America, 10 miners purchased copies, and were quite eager to discuss ways of deepening solidarity with the striking auto workers.

During the past several weeks, *Militant* sales teams have been discussing with auto workers in **Pontiac**, **Michigan**, the meaning of the recently announced General Motors plant closings. Many echo the position put forward by the bosses and union leadership that imports are the problem.

Through the course of these discussions, 38 households bought a copy of the *Militant*. Workers expressed interest in the point of view put forward in the paper that supporting either protectionist or free trade capitalist trading policies is a deadly trap for working people.

Candace Wagner and Steve Craine from Detroit and John Studer from Des Moines contributed to this column.

### Sales to industrial unionists Weekly goals

Total		3	6				384
UTU .							. 75
		٠					. 45
<b>UMWA</b>							. 8
UFCW				×			. 60
UAW						,	. 55
OCAW							. 45
ILGWU							. 14
IAM .							. 70
ACTWU	J						. 12

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU-United Transportation I biom.

### - CALENDAR -

### CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

Free Mark Curtis! Speakers: John Studer, coordinator of Mark Curtis Defense Committee; Piri Thomas, poet activist; Bobby Castillo, coordinator, Political Prisoner Project, International Indian Treaty Council; Nicki Maguire, Committee for Information on Ireland; Dwayne Hall, activist against Alameda police racism. Sun., Feb. 2. Reception, 2 p.m.; program, 3 p.m. Internation-al Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Hall, 255 9th Street. Donation: \$5–15 sliding scale. Sponsored by Bay Area Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense. For more information: (510) 891-9776 or (415) 586-3654.

### **NEW YORK**

### Manhattan

After the January 25 Peace for Cuba Rally attend an open house sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. Meet YSA leaders recently returned from Cuba and South Africa. Video showing featuring footage of Nelson Mandela in Cuba. Sat., Jan. 25, 5:00–9:00 p.m. 191 7th Ave. (at 21st Street) Donation: \$2. Tel: (212) 727-8422.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

We Won't Go Back... March for Women's Lives. National march on Washington, D.C. Sun., April 5. For more information call: National Organization for Women, (202) 331-0066.

### Rising unemployment ravages Canada . . .

#### BY ROBERT SIMMS

MONTREAL — The recession that began in Canada in the spring of 1990 lingers on, despite a short upturn this past summer.

The ravages of the recession register just how deep social strains, breakdowns, and crises have become. Fifteen years of the international capitalist economic crisis have been marked by government austerity drives, corporate concession demands, and retreats by organized labor.

Unemployment figures more and more mask the number of jobless workers. Unemployment in Canada stood at an official 10.3 percent in November, unchanged since October despite the fact that Statistics Canada counted net losses of 49,000 jobs during the month.

The percentage was unchanged because 45,000 workers were newly classified as "discouraged" — no longer calculated as part of the labor force because the government does not consider them to be regularly searching for a job. Tens of thousands more are not counted because they are not "officially" registered as unemployed — for example, because they are not eligible for unemployment insurance.

Workers with jobs continue to see their real wages decline. The average wage settlement for unionized workers in the third quarter of 1991 added up to only a 3.3 percent annual increase. The annual inflation rate, however, was more than 4 percent for the first nine months of 1991.

The accumulated effects of years of concession contracts was shown in recent Statistics Canada figures. After-tax family income, taking out the effects of inflation, stagnated throughout the 1980s, rising only 0.5 percent for the entire decade.

During the 1970s, after-tax family income grew by 22 percent.

Given the big increases in the past three decades in the number of women working outside the home and of households with two family members holding jobs, the above figures for the 1980s illustrate just how much

### French-language magazine features Mandela speech

The December 1991–February 1992 issue of the French-language magazine *L'internationaliste* is just off the press.

L'internationaliste makes available the major speech given by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela at the opening of the recent Convention for a Democratic South Africa. In it Mandela explains the historic significance of that meeting in the struggle to end the apartheid regime and establish a nonracial republic.

The issue also contains three articles by Michel Dugré, Nat London and Greg McCartan on the deepening class tensions and political polarization in Canada, France, and the United States.

The first article explains the stakes for working people in the debate on the coming referendum on Quebec sovereignty. The second reports on a wave of struggles by workers and peasants that swept France over the fall. And the third discusses the growing social tensions which lie behind the rise of ultrarightist figures like David Duke and Patrick Buchanan in the United States.

"The Cuban Revolution and the Fight for Socialism" by *Militant* editor Greg McCartan reports Socialist Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters's assessment of the challenges confronting the Cuban revolution today.

An article by Brigitte Grouix explains the significance of the struggle led by working people in Haiti and North America against the coup that toppled the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide last September.

Finally, readers will find an article by longtime SWP leader Farrell Dobbs on how the unions will again become weapons of revolutionary struggle against the bosses and their governments. This document is the "Afterword" to Dobbs's four-volume series on the struggle of the Minneapolis Teamsters during the 1930s. Dobbs was a leader of the Teamster struggles in those years.

This issue is available for \$5 from bookstores listed on page 12, or from *L'internationaliste*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. An introductory subscription for one year (four issues) costs \$12.

real wages have declined.

According to a report by the Canadian House of Commons agriculture committee, 50,000 farmers in Canada, about one-fifth of all farmers, are in danger of losing control of their land. The amount of farmland held by banks, insurance companies, and other major lenders has increased 63 percent in the past three years as a result of foreclosures and farm liquidations.

The grinding economic crisis has led to a big increase in the number of long-term unemployed and those on the welfare rolls.

In Metropolitan Toronto, some 280,000 men, women, and children live on some form of welfare out of a population of 2.25 million. There are also more than 100,000 workers with unemployment insurance claims (UIC) plus their families. In Montreal, the proportion of the population living on welfare or UIC is even higher. Montreal is the poorest major city in Canada.

"In terms of people in receipt of public assistance — counting every type of government income program — we are probably about where we were in the winter of 1938-39," says Don Richmond, commissioner of Metropolitan Toronto's Commu-

nity Services Department.

Canada does not have a government food stamps program like the United States. Welfare recipients must budget and hope their money does not run out before the end of the month. With welfare cutbacks at the beginning of the 1980s making this harder to do, food banks based on voluntary food donations and charity drives began to spring up. The first appeared in 1981.

There are now 1,100 emergency food banks in Canada. In 1989, an average of 378,000 people visited a food bank once a month. In 1990, the number increased to 496,000. In 1991, demand rose so rapidly that food banks across the country began resorting to rationing and waiting lists.

The availability of decent health care continues to decline, with cutbacks to Medicare, the government-run medical program. Emergency room bottlenecks and long waiting lists for elective surgery are worsening. The federal government has announced a freeze until 1995 on the per capita payments to the provinces with which it helps to fund Medicare to the tune of \$20 billion.

One indication of the growing healthcare crisis is the 4.5 percent rise in tuberculosis cases in Canada, the first rise in more than two decades. The incidence of the disease had been falling steadily before last year. Unlike other countries, there is no evidence that the rise in Canada is linked to patients with AIDS. Tuberculosis is a disease that registers increasing poverty, overcrowding, poor nutrition, and inadequate health care.

Bankruptcies, both personal and business, are at record-setting levels. Some 6,896 individuals and corporations declared bankruptcy in October, the highest monthly total eyer.

On January 9, Canadian Pacific Forest Products announced the permanent closing of its paper mill in Trois-Rivières, Quebec, and part of a mill in New Brunswick. Some 1,900 workers have lost their jobs in these plant closings. Industry analysts expect that up to 12 percent of Canadian pulp and paper mill capacity, the most outdated portions, will be shut down in 1992.

Just before Christmas, three major clothing store chains with 443 stores and 3,800 workers announced they were liquidating their inventory and would be closing most of their stores.

### ... while downturn continues in U.S.



More than 3,000 came out in Chicago's bitter cold January 15 to apply for 1,000 jobs at a new hotel scheduled to open in March.

### BY GREG McCARTAN

The numbers of working people thrown on the welfare rolls and officially out of work hit record highs in December.

As the capitalist economy continues to deteriorate, millions are coming to see the downturn as the early stages of a depression.

Government statistics on unemployment, which scrupulously report figures only for those seeking jobs through state employment offices, reveal that 7.1 percent of the working population is without a job. The rise of 289,000 people searching for work pushes the official total of those out of work to 8,891,000 — the highest figure since January 1984.

The number of people applying for unemployment benefits grew by 22,000 in the last full week of December, as nearly half a million filed new jobless claims that week.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the number of so-called discouraged workers stood at 1.1 million, an increase of a quarter-million people since the recession began. In the manufacturing sector the employers cut 32,000 jobs last month, for a total of 1.2 million jobs eliminated since January 1989.

Although unemployment rose, the number of people receiving jobless benefits fell by 280,000 to 3,175,000.

### What welfare figures reveal

More than anything else, the sharp rise in the last two years in the number of workers on welfare shows the devastating impact of the employers' assault on working people since the mid-1970s.

Millions no longer have anything on which to fall back. Being laid off — even for a short while — puts a question mark over a worker's ability to pay for basic necessities.

Since July 1989 the number of families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children has grown by 24 percent — from 3.7 million to 4.6 million. This program now covers 13.2 million people, up from 10.9 million in 1989. In October, 57,000 more families were forced onto welfare. This was the 27th consecutive monthly increase.

Some states have been hit harder than others. The biggest increases include: New Hampshire, 72 percent; Arizona, 41 percent; North Carolina, Kentucky, Florida, and Connecticut, all 37 percent.

Figures released in early January also explode the claims by some candidates in the Democratic and Republican parties that it is now easier to get on welfare — and that, once there, workers are on "easy street."

Using constant 1990 dollars, the total cost of welfare benefits dropped to \$16.7 billion in 1989 from \$20.7 billion in 1973. This is mostly due to the fact that benefit payments have not kept up with inflation. Payments are only 58 percent of what they were two decades ago.

The estimated number of children covered by welfare programs has risen to a record 13.5 percent, reflecting the increasing number of children in poverty. But the percentage of children living in poverty who are covered by the program has fallen from 81 percent in 1973 to just 65 percent today.

### 20,000 protest Maryland budget cuts

BY AARON RUBY

WASHINGTON, D.C., — Twenty thousand protesters marched on the Maryland state capitol, Annapolis, to protest projected budget cuts by the state legislature and call for tax increases to halt further cuts in education and social services.

The January 8 protest, timed to coincide with the opening session of the legislature, was called by a coalition that included the AFL-CIO, the Maryland State Teachers Association, the NAACP, the Association of Student Councils, and the League of Women Voters

The rally was referred to as one of the largest ever in Maryland and follows a number of student protests during the fall over budget cuts for the state university. Maryland

has cut aid to public schools and colleges by \$200 million in the last 15 months and aid to elementary and secondary schools by \$35 million over the last fiscal year.

In neighboring Virginia, Governor Douglas Wilder presented his budget proposal for 1992 later the same day. The proposal calls for reducing state jobs by 2,700 and includes 900 layoffs, tuition increases for state colleges of 15 percent in 1992 and 9 percent in 1993, and \$68 million in new taxes on nursing homes, hospitals, and pharmacies. Virginia state workers have not had a pay raise in three years. Three new state prisons are also projected.

Aaron Ruby is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 400 at Bay State Beef Co.

### MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

### ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Defense of Abortion Rights and the Roots of Women's Oppression. Speakers: representative, Students for Choice; Betsy Farley, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 2122. Sun., Jan. 26, 5:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

### **CALIFORNIA**

Los Angeles

The Growing Conflict between Japanese and U.S. Capitalism: What's at Stake for Working People? Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

The Fight for Women's Equality. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, member United Auto Workers Local 2244. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

#### **MASSACHUSETTS**

**Boston** 

Why the Labor Movement Should Defend Af-

firmative Action. Speaker: Valerie Johnson, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electrical Workers. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 pm. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

#### MISSOURI

St. Louis

Cuba at the Crossroads. A panel discussion among recent visitors to Cuba. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808

#### **NEBRASKA**

Omaha

World Politics Today and Opportunities to Build a Revolutionary Party. Speakers: James Warren, member United Steelworkers union, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Mary Zins, recently returned from South Africa reporting for Militant newspaper; Jason Coughlin, airman at Offutt AFB, Young Socialist Alliance; Pat Leamon, Omaha Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 25, 7 p.m. 140 S. 40th St. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

### **NEW JERSEY**

Newark

A Speakout Against Police Brutality. Speakers: Venus Hannah, mother of Santana Hannah, youth who died in police custody; Sharon Mayse, mother of teen murdered by cops in Hillside, N.J.; Jaqueline Potts, mother of teen killed by cops in New Brunswick, N.J.; representative, Phillip Pannell family; Priscilla Schenk, Socialist Workers Party, activist in Mark Curtis Defense Committee and protests against cop beating of Larry Milton in Des Moines, Iowa. Sat., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Defend Abortion Rights! What's Behind Attacks on Women's Rights. Speaker: Sarah Harris, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Fight for the Right to Abortion: What's

### WASHINGTON

Seattle

TEXAS

Houston

Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Legacy. Speaker: David Warshawsky, Young Socialist Alliance. Video on Malcolm X. Fri., Jan. 24, 7:00 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

at Stake for Working People. A panel discus-

sion. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St.

Crisis Facing Working Farmers. An eyewit-

ness report back from the recent American

Agricultural Conference by a Houston trade

unionist. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda.

South Africa: A Historic Moment. A panel

discussion on the new state of the struggle for

liberation against the system of apartheid.

Speakers: Zuberi Mwamba, professor, TSU; Cle-

ment Molema, representative, Young Socialist

Alliance; others. Sat, Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 4806

Almeda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

### 'We're in early stages of world depression'

Continued from Page 10

can be convinced by demagogues politicians and others who address the real and perceived problems of workers but play on prejudices, reactionary ideas, and fears to look for the wrong enemy," the SWP

These figures nurture anti-Semitism, and use immigrants, "welfare cheats," and others as scapegoats for the gnawing uncertainty and problems working people face.

"These 'solutions' to the plight of millions are not just repeated by middle-class layers, but also by a number of workers, including members of oppressed nationalities," Barnes said. He urged those attending the forum to take the initiative to discuss these issues with coworkers, fighters defending Quebec national rights, youth, and others.

The bipartisan domestic policy is built around the agreement to protect the strength of the dollar. This means that the framework for both the Democrats and Republicans is balancing the budget and reducing government spending. "There is no way that Bush or other capitalist politicians can make themselves popular," Barnes said. "No wing of the ruling class will break from this framework and come out boldly to point the way forward. There will not be a change in this until a deep social catastrophe erupts, then things will sharpen.

"The lack of any serious proposals in face of this crisis is why socialist and other vanguard workers and fighting youth must take demagogues such as Republican presidential candidates David Duke and Patrick Buchanan seriously," he said.

The right wing is not on the march, the SWP leader said. "But because it has one foot in street actions and the other in one of the capitalist political camps it gets a voice before the working-class vanguard does."

The vanguard that speaks for the interests of the working class is not inside, but outside of, bourgeois politics. Prior to large-scale action on the part of working people it does not get a voice that is reflected in the bigbusiness media. For a period of time working people are stunned, voiceless, and leaderless in the face of the sharp economic realities before them. Initially the scope of problems gives rise to conservatism and competition within the working class.

### State of the labor movement

The pressures on workers in the United States are made worse by the course and evolution of the labor movement, he said, citing the fact that only 26 strikes of more than 1,000 employees took place in the first eight months of 1991. This is the lowest level since 1947.

One sharp conflict is the one developing at Caterpillar. Management has demanded the union grant concessions, above and beyond those given at other farm implement and heavy equipment manufacturers. United Auto Workers (UAW) officials pulled a small percentage of the workers out on strike. The company responded by locking out thousands more. The conflict is an important one, Barnes said, because the company is probing to see if it can turn the retreat of the union into a rout.

Big divisions in the UAW surfaced in response to General Motors' announcement that it would lay off 74,000 workers and

close 21 plants. "Union officers in Texas and Michigan immediately began fighting over which plants would be closed and which would remain open," he said.

"The trade union movement is being battered. You see before your eyes," he said, "the threat that the working class faces if this course of deepening the divisions and competition between working people does not shift toward fighting to unite the entire class."

For these reasons it takes time for unionists and other workers to fight their way through the trade union bureaucracy's stranglehold on the labor movement.

The capitalist class faces different problems than during the 1950s, Barnes said. "They can't get rid of the gains wrested from them by the struggles for Black and women's rights in the 1950s and 1960s. They can't organize women, large sections of the working class, Blacks, and others to simply accept the social breakdown and the taking back of rights won in earlier decades. That will take bigger battles and will involve even larger stakes.

Recognizing that the social crisis and the equivalent of the opening stages of a depression are already upon working people is essential for socialist workers, fighting youth, and unionists. Turning to face the present reality and the dismal future capitalism has to offer helps put a premium on the struggles that erupt today - becoming a part of them, reaching out to them quickly, and getting the Militant and Pathfinder books in the hands of others who participate in them, he said.

Revolutionaries today can build a bridge to the young fighters who are attracted to the communist movement. "One thing that will be bred by this crisis is those who can defeat it," Barnes said. "As ultrarightists gain a hearing and incipient fascist movements arise more working people and youth will understand why a combat organization of the most committed fighters is needed.

"They will more and more see what methods the exploiters are willing to support to maintain their rule if necessary. The rulers' attempt to accomplish their goals will not only open up workers and youth to the socialist alternative to declining capitalism, but make clearer the importance of building a combat party of the working class. Fighters will understand the need to devote their lives to building that kind of party and doing so will take on a growing urgency," Barnes said.

Pointing to the place of the Militant, Pathfinder books, and New International, Barnes added that the great strength of the workingclass movement is that it can build on lessons learned in past revolutionary struggles and the programmatic conquests of the working-class movement.

The growth in the sales of Pathfinder's books, which contain a great deal of the accumulated heritage of the lessons of revolutionary and working-class struggles, is just one indication of the desire among tens of thousands around the world to understand, organize, and then be prepared to effectively fight.

Both the character of the crisis and collapse in the former Soviet Union and the fact that there are the sharp confrontations in Des Moines, Wichita, and elsewhere point out why the years ahead are unlike those of retreat and depoliticization of the working class.

"By going to these fights and discussing the sharp questions posed in politics today in whatever disguised or convoluted forms they have just arisen," Barnes concluded, "young people can be won to join revolutionary youth organizations and the communist party."

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

Defend Women's Right to Abortion! Speakers: Beverly Smith, University of Maryland Campus Pro-Choice Advocacy; Ellen Whitt, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 133: representative, Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$3. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

### BRITAIN

London

Can Capitalism Solve the Housing Crisis? Speaker: Joyce Fairchild, member Transport and General Workers Union, Communist League. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 071-928-7993.

#### Manchester

A Celebration of the Publication of Workers of the World and Oppressed People's Unite. Speaker: Andy Buchanan, member Amalgamated Engineering Union, Communist League. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:00 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839-1766.

South Africa: New Stage in the Struggle to End Apartheid — An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Pete Clifford, recently returned from trip to South Africa promoting Pathfinder books. Sat., Jan. 25, 6:00 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

### CANADA

Vancouver

"Bilingualism," Quebec and the Constitution - What's at Stake for Working People? Speaker: Nancy Walker, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

### -IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP —

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the Militant, Perspectiva Mundial, New International, Nouvelle Internationale, Nueva Internacional, and L'internationaliste.

### UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079, 328-

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. San Francisco: 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415)

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 NE 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Tallahassee: P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 172 Trinity Ave. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249. KENTUCKY: Louisville: P.O. Box 4103.

Zip: 40204-4103. MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2905 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 50191/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. NEW YORK: Albany: P.O. Box 6185. Zip:

12206. New York: 1917th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421 NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-

C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (919) 272-

OHIO: Cleveland: 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906

South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8196. Pittsburgh: 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412)

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gahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075 Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs).

Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055. Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-

**SWEDEN** 

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

The march of civilization -Check it out — an electric pepper mill with a light on bottom, so you



can see how much pepper you're grinding. \$175.

Freedom road - With support from Washington, the International Monetary Fund is pressuring Russia to hike the price of its oil up to 15 times the present level. The IMF says this would make gas and heating oil too expensive for many Russians to buy, thus making more available for export. The added export income, the IMF says, would then go toward paying Russia's foreign debt.

No day off — You think they've packed the tube to the max with Saturday children's cartoons? Disney is opening a drive to market cartoon programming on Sundays.

Migraines cause capitalism? Migraine headaches are 60 percent more common among people making \$10,000 or less than among those in families with incomes above \$30,000, reports the Journal of the American Medical Association. Researchers said poverty-related stress, poor diet and bad medical care could trigger migraines. But, they speculated, it could be vice versa. By curbing earning power, maybe migraines cause poverty.

Communist lawyers included? - The Wall Street Journal is now using the honorific "Dr." for professors, optometrists, etc., as well as physicians, dentists, and veterinarians. The paper put a limit on use of the term in the late 1950s, when Dr. Fidel Castro was first in the news. (Fidel has a law degree which, in Latin America, includes the "Dr.")

Free-market medical care — In 1983, there were 1,497 U.S. cases of measles. But with shrinking vaccination programs, by 1990 the number of cases had soared to 27,786. Meanwhile, the big-time drug dealers are feeling fine, thank you. For instance, a vaccine against diphtheria and other ailments that cost 15 cents a shot in 1981 was \$6.91 last year.

Full confidence — In December, the Savannah River Site nuke plant leaked radioactive gas into the river. Officials assured it was a small, harmless amount, but communities downstream said they're thinking twice about using the river for drinking water — particularly

since the leak occurred soon after the feds spent \$1 billion upgrading the reactor.

Where's Stormin' Norman? — Rats have been reported scurrying around the Pentagon. The food concession company said three to five a week are being caught in food service areas and told Pentagon honchos that "the level of infestation has become unacceptable.'

The hell with the money -Henry Wendt, chairman of the U.S.-British SmithKline drug company, wants to write a book, so he's arranged to work part time. It means he'll be reduced to half pay - about

### Big-business media slanders Caterpillar strikers

BY ANDREA GONZALEZ

EAST PEORIA, Illinois - As the fight by the United Auto Workers union to win a contract at Caterpillar enters its third month, the workers there have become victims of a slander campaign by the big-business media. This campaign aims to drive a wedge between the Caterpillar workers and other working people in the area.

The Peoria Journal Star has run articles and editorials blaming the strike for the recession and accusing the United Auto Workers (UAW) of trying to destroy Peo-

After weeks of such propaganda, letters to the editor attacking the strike began to appear, calling on the strikers to "tell the UAW to take a hike" and accusing the union of both leading the strikers like "lambs to slaughter" and trying to turn the area into a "ghost town."

Strikers report that while they continue to receive food for the strike kitchen from local businesses, the constant attacks in the press have caused some erosion of local support.

Caterpillar is the world's largest producer of earth-moving equipment. Last fall the company refused to accept a contract with the UAW patterned after the one the union signed with John Deere and Co., Caterpillar's main competitor.

### Concessions demanded

Instead, Caterpillar demanded a series of concessions including a two-tier wage structure with much lower pay for newhires in the parts division, severe restrictions on seniority rights, and a monthly fee for health insurance.

Caterpillar claims it needs these concessions to be competitive on the world mar-

Although the local union repeats much of the Japan-bashing propaganda emanating from the UAW's national headquarters, it is fairly well known that Caterpillar controls half of the Japanese market in earth-moving equipment.

To pressure the company the UAW called a limited strike. On November 4, 400 workers at the assembly division in Peoria and 2,000 at the Decatur plant went on strike. The company retaliated three days later by locking out 5,000 workers here and hundreds at its Aurora plant.

Since the strike and lockout, hundreds of orkers at the surrounding Caterpillar plants. and at many suppliers have also been laid

The local paper has become more shrill in its attacks on the strike. After General Motors announced its plans to close 21 plants and lay off tens of thousands of workers the Journal Star ran an editorial stating, "The message is an ominous one for tractor-building communities as well as automaking towns," GM's announcement, it said, "bolsters the company's (Caterpillar's) arguments and lends substance to its threats." The editorial called for an immediate end to the

The mayor of Peoria published a letter to the Caterpillar strikers in the Journal Star telling strikers "to think of your families before losing everything to decisions made a thousand miles away." The national UAW, he wrote, was deciding their fate.

### Limited fight by UAW

Unfortunately the UAW officialdom has not really made this a fight for the whole union. No attempts have been made to mobilize the more than a dozen auto union locals based in Chicago and St. Louis.

In the last two months only the Deere Council, a part of the union's agricultural implements department, has given financial support — a \$50,000 contribution.

While the local union at the Diamond Star assembly plant in Normal, Illinois, has been organizing weekly plant-gate collections and sending monthly delegations to East Peoria, it was strictly their own initiative. According to a spokesperson at the union's national headquarters, the union has opened up the "adopt-a-striker" program.

Caterpillar has 16,000 unionized employees. A little more than half of them are on the street while the other half are working. Many of the workers still on the

job say they feel like scabs working during the fight.

One worker at the Pontiac, Illinois, plant proudly wore a half-dozen "adopt-a-striker" buttons. He said he was glad to give the \$35 a week to the program but thought he would better serve the fight by striking against the company. Some of the workers still working in the plants around East Peoria are volunteering in the strike kitchen and delivering coffee and doughnuts to the picket line.

In the meantime, the locked-out workers have been denied unemployment benefits from the state. The UAW is challenging the state's decision in the courts. The union is currently lending locked-out workers \$100 a week until a final decision on their unemployment benefits is made.

When the strike and lockout began the company had stockpiled many of its products. At the end of November, the Journal Star reported, the company had received an order for 313 tractors and other heavy equipment from Iran's Ministry of Mines and Metals. The paper speculated that Caterpillar could meet the order from its inventory. However, on December 9 the company asked the union to return to work for 120 days to meet the back orders. The union rejected the proposal.

Andrea Gonzalez is a member of UAW Local 325 in St. Louis. Steve Craine, a member of UAW Local 174 in Detroit, and Susan Derby, a member of UAW Local 897 in the Twin Cities, contributed to this article.

### Puerto Rican unionists protest gov't attacks

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Five hundred trade unionists and supporters picketed the San Juan Judiciary Center December 19 to protest government attacks on the Electrical and Irrigation Industry Workers Union (UTIER). Four leaders of the union had been threatened with jail for their refusal to be interrogated by a grand jury.

The grand jury wants to question the leaders of the union about the felling of three electrical towers in November that left most of the island without electric power. The union is demanding that the investigation be carried out by a special prosecutor who would have authority to investigate not just the union but the government as well. Government officials have insinuated the union was responsible for the blackout.

During a strike by UTIER in 1978, police agent Alejandro González Malavé, while posing as an independence supporter, conducted acts of sabotage against the facilities of the Electric Power Authority as part of the government's campaign to violence-bait the union and the pro-independence movement.

The majority of the people at the picket were members of UTIER. Other participants were from the Independent Union of Telephone Workers, Teachers Federation of Puerto Rico, Central Organization of Puerto Rican Workers and unions of municipal workers, social service workers, and legal aid lawyers. Student groups and independence supporters also voiced their support for

The four union leaders, José Valentín, David Maldonado, José Rivera and Ricardo Santos, were fined \$200 each for contempt of court.

### Thirty months without a contract

The 6,000 members of UTIER have been working at the state-owned electric company for 30 months without a contract. The government has refused to bargain seriously with the union.

One contract issue is the use of subcontractors to remove asbestos from the power plants. This work requires workers to wear plastic suits to avoid exposure to the asbestos fibers. In the tropical climate these suits are extremely hot and the union has demanded that workers be given more rest time when using them. To avoid this, the company has turned to subcontractors who force the workers to do the work under dangerous conditions.

UTIER also helped lead a campaign to boycott the December 8 referendum organized by the ruling Popular Democratic Party (PPD). The PPD, which supports Puerto Rico's current colonial status as a "Free Associated State," campaigned for a "yes" vote as a way to push back the prospects for statehood. Some organizations in the pro-independence movement also called for a "yes" vote for the refer-

The other colonialist party, the prostatehood New Progressive Party (PNP),

called for a "no" vote. The non-binding referendum, which was defeated, included some ground rules for a possible future plebiscite on the island's status.

UTIER leaders, whose campaign to boycott the referendum was ratified at a meeting attended by more than half the union membership, argued that the measure would do nothing to advance the rights of working people or the national rights of the Puerto Rican people. Some of the union's leaders are well-known supporters of independence

### **— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO**

MILITANT January 30, 1967

The "new" Pentagon strategy in Vietnam has been revealed to be nothing less than an attempt to liquidate the male population in areas of the country sympathetic to or governed by the National Liberation Front. This kind of terrorism can only strengthen the Vietnamese resolve to fight to rid their country of the U.S. aggressors.

The Pentagon strategy was made murderously clear by the casualty figures released in the near-end days of "Operation Cedar Falls," the largest U.S. military campaign in the course of the war. The other side of "Operation Cedar Falls" is that all women, children, and old men in this area are being transported to concentration camps as pris-

Even by conservative estimates, twothirds of the south Vietnamese population lives in regions controlled or influenced by

According to New York Times reporter Tom Buckley, writing from Saigon Jan. 23, "Villages in the area have been destroyed to deprive guerrillas of shelter and 5,967 residents, virtually all of them old men, women and children, are being housed in camps. . . . "In an earlier report, written from Phucong where these persons had been transported, Buckley estimated that of the nearly 6,000 prisoners there were "only 100 or so men in the camp between the ages of 18 and 50."

What happened to the remainder of the male population? According to Lieut. Gen. Jonathan O. Seaman, commander of the Second Field Force, which has over-all control of the campaign, only 179 prisoners were taken. Seaman said there were 1,219 casual-

If these figures are correct, it means that almost 20 percent of the south Vietnamese who encountered the invasionary force were

### THE MILITANT

January 31, 1942

The Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia has denied the petition of Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper of Gretna, Va., for a writ of habeas corpus which his attorneys had requested on the grounds that the barring [of] non-payers of poll taxes from jury service in Virginia made his indictment and conviction unconstitutional under federal and state law.

Odell Waller is scheduled to be executed on March 20 for the self-defense slaying of his farmer landlord who had tried to cheat the Waller family on their crop shares.

Waller was tried by a jury composed exclusively of payers of Virginia's \$1.50 cumulative poll tax. The petition for a writ of habeas corpus presented proof that non-payers of poll taxes were systematically barred from voting lists and from grand and petit juries in Pittsylvania County, Va., where the trial occurred, and that not a single non-payer was found on any jury list. Of the 30,000 eligible voters in the county, only 6000, about 20 percent, paid their poll taxes in 1940.

Waller, a sharecropper with pitifully little income, was obviously denied a trial by his "peers" when other non-poll tax payers like himself were not permitted onto jury lists.

### Short-lived 'new world order'

Soon after the February 27, 1991 signing of a cease-fire in the war against Iraq doubts and hesitations about the war began to surface. Responding to the criticisms, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf shot back, "Anyone who dares even imply that we did not achieve a great victory obviously doesn't know what the hell he's talking about."

Now that the smoke from the burning oil fields has cleared and the dust from the U.S. and allied bombing raids against Iraq has settled, nothing can obscure the view. What did the U.S. rulers win in the one-sided war against the people of Iraq? Not much.

The massive display of force, the dropping of "smart" bombs and massive quantities of "dumb" bombs, the destruction of air raid shelters and bridges, and the burying alive of Iraqi soldiers only proved one thing: the U.S. military has the hardware capable of slaughtering an enemy that does not fight back.

Contrary to President George Bush's claim that the Vietnam Syndrome has been "kicked", it has grown stronger as a result of the war. Millions of working people, many of whom were taken in for a moment by the patriotic fervor, are more and more facing up to the truth about the war.

"They lie and lie and lie and it never ends," said the father of one U.S. GI who was killed in Saudi Arabia. "My boy died for oil.'

This growing lack of confidence in the U.S. government occurs in the midst of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. From the streets of Moscow to the sidewalks of New York, growing homelessness and unemployment is an international phenomenon.

"I can't believe where this country is going," Fran Calvani, whose husband served in the Gulf during the war, told the New York Times. "The loss of jobs is unbelievable, and finding jobs is even worse."

The war showed the true face of the imperialist rulers: that they will carry out whatever brutality they deem necessary to advance their interests. They will use violence against workers and farmers abroad and at home, and ultimately they are prepared to use it against their imperialist rivals around the world.

Just look at the carnage on the road to Basra in Kuwait and then at the battered faces of Rodney King, Larry Milton, and Mark Curtis, who were brutalized by the police. Imperialist "justice" in Iraq is no different from police "justice" in Los Angeles, Des Moines, or New York.

As every day goes by the weakening of the leading imperialist power, the United States, becomes clearer.

The Japanese capitalists continue to deal economic blow after blow to their U.S. competitors. Forcing the rest of Europe to recognize Croatia and Slovenia over the opposition of Washington, the German rulers are flexing their political muscles in Europe.

Military might such as that possessed by the United States and its allies is not enough to save the crumbling imperialist world order. Working people around the world continue to fight for a way forward: from the continuing struggle of Palestinians for a homeland and the battle of the Salvadoran people for an end to government repression to defensive actions in the United States against police brutality and concession contracts.

'The Opening Guns of World War III," an article published in issue no. 7 of the magazine New International, noted that "Washington's war against the Iraqi people signaled the opening guns of broadening class, national, and interimperialist conflicts. These are inevitable.

"What is far from inevitable is that these battles will culminate in a third world war that would set back the progress of humanity beyond our capacities to imagine. That will depend on the outcome of the class battles in the years ahead," the article continued.

"Workers and farmers will have our chance — the opportunity to win revolutionary victories and take the power to make war out of the hands of the imperialist ruling classes."

January 22 marks the anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court decision in Roe v. Wade. The ruling effectively threw out state laws making it a crime to have or perform abortions.

This column is devoted to a discussion with our readers printing remarks, questions, suggestions, and other comments sent to the Militant. Where possible we will take up issues raised in notes and letters as a way to help clarify and expand on the coverage in the paper.

Nineteen years later young people, workers, and others are planning meetings and protests in defense of this right. From Washington, D.C., to San Francisco, actions to defend clinics against rightist assaults and to condemn government attacks on a woman's right to choose abortion are being held.

The right to abortion is fundamental to women controlling their own lives. It is a basic democratic right. Moreover, it is essential for forging unity within the working class. The employers and the government are able to continue their

### DISCUSSION WITH **OUR READERS**

assault on workers' wages, unions, and rights because the working class is divided. Fighting to defend and extend women's right to abortion, the absence of which hinders women's participation as equals in the workforce and in the labor movement, is an essential part of overcoming these divisions imposed by class society. Maintaining this right strengthens the entire labor movement.

The 1973 decision legalizing abortions came in the immediate aftermath of the social upheaval wrought by the civil rights movement, which began shaking U.S. society after World War II and continued throughout the 1960s.

The emergence of a women's rights struggle in the late 1960s, inspired by the victories of the civil rights movement and the growing role of women in the work force, led to increased opposition to antiabortion laws.

Joining in the protests and discussions going on today is the best way to become apart of the fight to defend abortion rights.

We hope Michael Pennock was able to point to the article by Brian Williams in the December 20 issue of the Militant that presented the facts of the interimperialist conflict that led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the U.S. rulers' full-scale entry into World War II.

Williams's article briefly noted the comment by U.S. President George Bush about the war in the Pacific, at the end of which Washington ordered the first - and only use of nuclear weapons. The attacks were carried out on August 6 and 9, 1945, against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A fuller rendering of Bush's remarks is worthwhile here. At the beginning of last December Bush was asked whether or not he regretted the bombings, which resulted in the deaths of at least 200,000 civilians.

"War is hell, and it's a terrible thing. But there should be no apology requested. And that in my view is rank revisionism," Bush said on an ABC news program. Asked if Washington should apologize to the Japanese people, Bush said, "Not from this president."

"American lives were saved by the bombings," he emphasized, adding that he no longer felt a "personal sense" of anger toward the Japanese.

No voice in either the Democratic or Republican parties disputed or lodged a protest against Bush's statement. His "save our boys" justification for the bombing is the same used for each of Washington's barbaric acts against peoples around the world. It was used most recently to defend the bombing of Iraq and the burying alive, using plows attached to tanks, of thousands of tattered Iraqi soldiers in desert trenches.

The unanimous defense by U.S. rulers of the atomic bombings and the military and civilian casualties they caused serves to remind us of the true face of imperialism. It also points out the logical conclusion of any support of the rulers' attempts to make working people think there is an "America" and a "Japan" or "Germany" that "we" must compete with, or go to war against "them."

Only by recognizing the common interests working people have - no matter what country they happen to reside in right now — can a revolutionary struggle be mounted to take power out of the hands of the super-wealthy class that rules both Japan and the United States. That alone will bring to an end the new Hiroshimas and Iraqs the imperialists have in store for working people everywhere.

Nancy Blyth's letter apparently crossed in the mail with last week's Militant. That issue carried an article by Seth Galinsky on Oliver Stone's movie, JFK. Galinsky argues that the movie aims to portray Kennedy as the biggest liberal since Roosevelt. Stone trusts that working people will believe there is another such "hope of humanity" around to raise us out of the pits capitalism has pulled us into.

Getting a bead on this aspect of the movie also helps sort out the liberal perspectives promoted in the rest of the movie. Although most people do not know exactly how Kennedy was killed, few believe the "lone gunman" approach.

What Stone does is what every liberal does. He sees the source of society's problems in a right-wing conspiracy: a murder hatched by a shadow government and sinister forces out of control. Working people know differently from experience: being on picket lines and in protest activity; random cop beatings and government spying; Washington's death squads in Puerto Rico and elsewhere — the complete corruption, brutality, and violence that exists is inherent in capitalism itself.

### El Salvador war: Made in U.S.A.

The end of El Salvador's 11-year-long civil war echoes the deeply felt desire for peace by working people there. By the tens of thousands, Salvadorans joined rallies to celebrate the peace accord signed between the government of Alfredo Cristiani and the leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The January 16 agreement formally brings to an end a war that left 75,000 people dead, 20,000 wounded, and nearly one million displaced in a country of 5 million inhabitants. The end of the war widens the democratic space in which unionists, peasants, youth, and others in the country can openly discuss and carry out political activity, an opportunity denied them for years.

Contrary to the image presented by U.S. officials and the big-business media, this stage in politics in El Salvador was reached not because of, but in spite of Washington. The U.S. government financed the war and the brutal regime that carried it out.

Over the last decade Democrats and Republicans in the U.S. Congress backed successive Salvadoran regimes to the tune of \$4 billion in military and economic aid. They did their utmost to crush the Salvadoran people's determination to fight against the devastating effects the capitalist economic crisis is having on their lives. Washington and the regime did not enter into any negotiations with the FMLN until they had judged that their efforts to deal the guerrilla forces a military defeat were ineffective.

The achievement of the peace accord shows that the 53,000-strong Salvadoran army, repression by death squads, U.S. military advisers, rigged elections, and more, were inadequate for the government to achieve its goals. The U.S. capitalist rulers were unable to defeat the FMLN forces simply by bankrolling the Salvadoran regime.

As the world slides into a depression, the owners of the big banks and corporations must drive the peoples of the semicolonial world into complete submission — either directly or through the repressive regimes they prop up - to try to reverse the long-term decline of their rate of profit. Washington's failure in El Salvador illustrates the limits of the rulers' might and the depth of their problems.

The New York Times reported that, confronting a "troubled economy" at home, Washington "does not want to be in the position of having to refuse to pay" the \$1.8 billion El Salvador's government says it needs to rebuild the country's economy, an economy U.S. imperialism played the key role in devastating.

The harsh conditions El Salvador confronts pose tremendous challenges to workers, peasants, students, and all fighters for social justice. As they fight to defend their interests in a newly opened political space, working people will forge the kind of leadership they need to win political power and establish their own government.

### Profits put before human life

The recent investigation into the safety of silicone breast implants has uncovered yet another example of capitalist profit being put before human life, in this case the lives of tens of thousands of women.

The implants have been on the market since the early 1960s and an estimated two million women have received them. While only now the truth on the dangers of these devices are becoming public knowledge, the fact has also emerged that studies as early as the late 1960s addressed the problem of silicone leaking into the body's system. Silicone in the body has been linked to several health problems including inflammation of joints and connective tissue, and cancer. Doctors are now also admitting that the implants interfere with X-rays used for mammography tests, which are vital for early detection of breast cancer, a leading killer of women in the United States.

The majority of women who have the implants chose to have this surgery for purely cosmetic reasons. Taking advantage of women's insecurities the wealthy owners of Dow Chemical and other corporations, as well as doctors, have raked in huge profits from the breast implant business over the past 30 years, telling women this procedure was perfectly

These women fell victim to the profiteers because of the standards of female beauty imposed by the capitalist society we live in - standards that include having large breasts.

The callous attitude this entails was expressed by Dr. Melvin J. Silverstein of the Breast Center, a doctors' group in California that specializes in the treatment of breast cancer, who said, "I am not against implants. I think all of life is a choice - risk versus gain. She may have a possibility of a worse outcome if she gets breast cancer. But maybe with an implant she feels she'll get a husband or become a super model. She has to weigh that out."

This controversy affects not only women who can more easily pay for this expensive cosmetic surgery. The issues involved are of great concern to the working class, which also has the values and norms of the wealthy foisted on it. These values degrade and dehumanize women, and, if not combatted, divide and weaken the working class in face of

the attacks by the capitalist rulers. Militant readers will want to pick up a book available from Pathfinder entitled Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women. The book covers a sharp debate that broke out in 1954 in the pages of the Militant over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the oppression of women. The book explains the tremendous changes in women's social conditions that have occurred since World War II, especially their increasing incorporation into industrial union jobs. It also points out the stakes for working people in opposing the offensive by the rulers against women's rights.

### Electrical workers strike against two-tier setup

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes

Most felt the offer was too little, too late. Top pay at Glenco-Star is less than \$9 per hour, about the same as starting pay at other refrigerator factories organized by the same union local.

Production has been halted. The company has not yet tried to bring

The strikers are demanding immediate elimination of the wage tiers, substantial pay increases, better medical coverage for all, paid sick days, and improved pensions. Currently, the pension stands at \$5 per month for each year of service. For example, a 30-year employee would receive \$150 per month.

As we go to press, the bosses have offered an increase of \$1.50 per hour over three years, plus elimination of the two-tier setup. Workers have yet to vote on this offer.

### ON THE PICKET LINE

over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

The more than one hundred members of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 123 at Glenco-Star in Philadelphia went on strike January 7. The workers overwhelmingly rejected the refrigerator manufacturer's "final offer" January 6, even though it included some improvements, including the future elimination of the two-tier wage setup and a provision for medical coverage for workers' dependents.

in scabs. Maintenance workers, who are not in the union, and shipments of material have been turned away by the pickets.

Many were inspired by the threemonth fight by steelworkers at Lukens Steel. The mood of the strikers is confident. "Better pay, better benefits, we'll get them. We'll be back to work next week," predicted Milton Murray, a welder. "The company's hurting. They have to fulfill their contracts and they can't do it without us."

A mass picket the morning of January 7 drew almost every striker, including some who favored accepting the final offer. Pickets were maintained around the clock, swelling to 50 in the daytime.

One of the central issues of the dispute is the management rights clause in the contract, which grants the bosses the right to lay off and promote out of seniority. "We're not fighting for money, we're fighting for our rights: to be somebody in the place you work, so they treat you like a person," another welder, Angel Rivera, declared. Carlos and Raul Delgado disagreed. "We're fighting for the money," they said.

### Solidarity with laid-off Ontario steelworkers.

Fifty members of United Steelworkers of America Local 1005 demonstrated at noon in front of Stelco Towers in downtown Hamilton, Ontario, December 18 in solidarity with 800 steelworkers laid off from Stelco's giant Hilton Works. They were also protesting the Stelco bosses' use of thousands of hours of overtime to keep their operations going.

A leaflet handed out by USWA Local 1005 to Stelco workers on the morning shift and to downtown Christmas shoppers asked, "Were these people laid off due to lack of work? Apparently not!! The jobs that many of these laid off workers were doing are presently being performed by other workers on overtime.

"As laid off workers we believe that we should be recalled to perform work that currently is being performed by others on overtime.

"As laid off workers our concerns are not focused at our Brothers and



Militant/Kristin Meriam

More than 100 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers struck Glenco-Star in Philadelphia January 7.

Sisters in the Plant, but rather at Stelco and the Provincial Government for not introducing legislation to prevent employers from using overtime particularly during recessive times to reduce their workforce and save the cost of employee benefits."

Many of the workers felt that the country was on the verge of a depression or in one, saying that "anything could happen."

The demonstration began on the same day that General Motors bosses announced massive cuts to its worldwide and North American operations. This was a topic of conversation among the demonstrators.

Most of the demonstrators had over ten years seniority. A decade ago the Hilton workforce stood at more than 10,000; now it has 5,600 employees.

Kristin Meriam, a striking member of IUE Local 123 at Glenco-Star in Philadelphia; Susan Berman, a Canadian Auto Workers member; and John Steele, a member of the International Association of Machinists in Toronto, contributed to this week's column.

### **—LETTERS**

#### World War II lessons

The "25 and 50 years ago" column in the *Militant* came in handy during a political discussion at work recently. A coworker referred to my opposition to the Gulf War and said, "But we have to be able to take out these dictators someway. Look what Hussein was doing even to his own records."

I made the point that U.S. rulers, and leaders of other imperialist countries, don't care what happens to people at the hands of local rulers. They only care about their own economic and political interests. To show how this has always been true, I read from the column's quotation of then-British statesman Anthony Eden's comments on how Adolph Hitler's problem was that he wouldn't confine his methods to Germany. It raised a few eyebrows and led to a discussion of the real nature of the Second World War.

I hope the *Militant* will run a story once in a while on some event during WWII that illustrates that war as an inter-imperialist slaughter. It's not much of a regular topic of discussion at work, but the local papers are

running daily "50 Years Ago" features on the war. Michael Pennock Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

### 'JFK' impact

On Christmas Eve, I joined a packed house to watch Oliver Stone's "JFK." While I don't think the Militant would agree with Stone's premise that Camelot would have bloomed in the U.S. if only Kennedy had lived, the main thrust of the movie asks questions that Militant readers may be discussing: what is the truth about Kennedy's assassination, what was the U.S. government covering up and why, what was the role of the Cuban people in the Bay of Pigs, and what was Cuba's political role in the world at the time

At one point in the movie, District Attorney Jim Garrison, played by Kevin Costner, says the American people have never heard the truth about the Kennedy assassination and the audience broke into applause. Afterward, many groups of people stayed in their seats for more discussion.



In light of the continuing attack in the bourgeois media, maybe "JFK" is not so far off the mark in its broad strokes.

Nancy Blyth New York, New York

### Health crisis

A big discussion in the media has focused on the crisis of health care — there's been very little recently in the *Militant* — and it is important

to add the communist perspective on health care in the U.S.

I was pleased to read the recent articles on the gay rights protests in California — a very good editorial on gay rights and some increased attention to AIDS issues. Don't allow this to slip from the *Militant*. It will continue to be the major health crisis facing people of color, especially those without health insurance.

How about some occasional cultural reviews? The paper looks wonderful! *C.M.* 

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Stop attacks on Libya

In 1969 Libya underwent a revolution which ended its imperialistestablished monarchy and has since created significant gains for the country's workers and peasants.

Nationalizing petroleum resources wrested the impoverished nation's wealth from the hands of Western capitalists and returned it to the people in forms such as jobs, housing, health care and education. Women have overcome some of the repression they have suffered and continue to struggle forward. Organs for worker involvement in decision-making have been instituted. Libya's internationalism has provided support for fighters worldwide, such as those in Palestine, South Africa, and Ireland. A true workers' and peasants' state has not been created, but the advances are worthy of protecting.

Precisely for these activities Libya has been subjected to a campaign of slander and terrorism led by Washington. Workers around the world must be prepared to respond to these attacks and to recognize their true, underlying target. The *Militant*, as an unwavering supporter of working people everywhere, should take up the lead in this effort.

David Howe St. Paul, Minnesota

### Police brutality

I am very interested in knowing the decision in the Curtis case, as would other prisoners here at Elmira; some of whom have themselves made previous challenges in the courts concerning police brutality at the time of their arrest. Given the excellent reporting of the Curtis case, the consensus here is that the decision will be favorable, but one never knows when dealing with the special interests and "creative law enforcement" of the U.S. justice system.

The growing political and economic crises in the world makes reading the *Militant* indispensable for 1992.

A prisoner Elmira, New York

Editor's note: The trial of Curtis's lawsuit against the Des Moines police department for the beating he received took place November 25–26. The judge has yet to issue a decision.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

15

### Special subscription offer for our readers behind bars

"The Militant is an invaluable asset in enlightening prisoners here to global injustices and events," wrote one prisoner in Maryland. "Please continue telling the truth—the struggle continues!"

Since the *Militant* announced its new policy of low-cost subscriptions for prisoners, more than 30 men and women behind bars have sent in checks for the paper. There are now *Militant* subscribers in 38 prisons across the United States.

A 6-month subscription to the *Militant* for prisoners now costs \$6, one year costs \$12. We send a free sample copy of the *Militant* or the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* to every prisoner who re-

quests a subscription.

"Thank you very much for the many issues of the *Militant* you supplied me with while I was in solitary." After receiving the *Militant* for free for many years, this prisoner took advantage of the discount to become a paid subscriber.

However, not all prisoners are able to afford the new prices. Some prisoners are not allowed to work or are kept in solitary confinement. Many prisoners in Texas, for example, have complained that prison authorities pay them less than 10 cents an hour for the work they do.

Contributions to the *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund make our discount possible. More contributions will allow us to send a limited number of complimentary subscriptions to prisoners.

You can help. Please fill out the attached coupon with your donation.

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### Accord ends civil war in El Salvador

BY LUIS MADRID

Tens of thousands of people gathered in San Salvador's Civic Plaza January 16 to celebrate the signing of peace accords by the government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), which brought an end to the country's 11-year-old civil war. The plaza was decorated with banners of the FMLN.

The signing in Mexico City followed an earlier agreement at the United Nations in which Salvadoran president Alfredo Cristiani and the FMLN agreed to a formal cease-fire to go into effect February 1. Other provisions include:

- the complete dismantling of the FMLN military apparatus by October 31;
- the reintegration of FMLN members into legal political activity;
- the reduction of the government's armed forces within 22 months to less than half of their current size, estimated at 53,000;
- officers found to be corrupt or guilty of human rights violations are to be purged from the armed forces;
- the Treasury Police, National Guard, and National Police are to be dissolved, and a National Civil Police is to be created, with former members of the FMLN and National Police eligible to serve. The FMLN has already announced plans to send thousands of its former guerilla fighters to Sweden, Spain, Uruguay, and Colombia for police training.

In the long-held FMLN stronghold of Guazapa, 15 miles north of San Salvador, news of the peace accord was welcomed with joy. "This is what we've been fighting for," a guerilla fighter told the Associated Press

Rebels have begun abandoning their positions in Guazapa, according to the Spanish news agency EFE. The news agency France Presse reported that the day following the agreement at the United Nations 100 unarmed FMLN members returned to the capital and announced the transformation of the organization into a political party.

The Miami Herald reported that as part of the agreements the government had promised to purchase land occupied by peasants in the zones under the control of the FMLN and grant them titles to the property.

In a January 6 speech Cristiani announced the dissolution of the existing security and paramilitary forces as well as the reduction in the size of the army. At a press conference a week later, referring to the challenge the regime faces with sectors in the military that oppose the reduction, he said, "We will fight any group of renegades, regardless of their origin."

As the last stages of the months-long negotiating process neared, workers, peasants, students, and others pressed the government to take more concrete steps to complete it. On December 14, for example, 20,000 people turned out for a demonstration in San Salvador called by the Permanent Committee of the National Debate for Peace to demand the signing of the peace accords.

Another factor was the role of Washington, which stood behind the Salvadoran government all along. In the course of the war the U.S. government gave the Salvadoran regime nearly \$4 billion in economic and military aid, trained special counterinsurgency units in U.S. bases, and also deployed military advisers in El Salvador.

Acknowledging, however, that a military defeat of the guerrilla forces was precluded, the U.S. administration was forced to shift its stance regarding talks with the rebels. Last year the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, William Walker, made two trips to meet with FMLN leaders in a guerrilla-controlled zone, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Urging caution in establishing an open political presence in the cities, Francisco Jovel, one of the five members of the FMLN general command, contrasted the situation to that in 1980, which "wasn't anything like it is now. Then, the death squads were in full operation."

In a phone interview union leader Hum-

berto Centeno explained, "In the 1970s we began a political and mass struggle against the military dictatorship. We were also fighting for the structural changes the people needed." Centeno is a member of the executive committee of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS).

The popular clamor for land, improved living conditions, and democratic and political rights was met with repression by the Salvadoran regime. Union, political, community and religious activists were abducted, killed or "disappeared."

Six major leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, for example, were assassinated in November 1980. The front included a broad array of social

forces at the time. Eight months earlier, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, an outspoken critic of the government's repression, was shot to death saying mass. To date, no one has been convicted for his murder. By the end of 1980 the conflict had claimed 9,000 lives.

The FMLN was founded in October 1980 by five guerrilla organizations, some of which had been fighting successive Salvadoran regimes since the early 1970s. They were "five political parties that had to resort to taking up arms because the doors to legality had been closed to us," explained Schafik Handal in a three-part interview published recently in the New York daily El Diario/La Prensa. Handal, of the FMLN general command, is also a leader of the Communist Party of El Salvador.

By the mid-1980s, trade unions and other opposition forces in El Salvador had already begun reconquering the space to engage in open political activity that was lost during the repression of the first half of the decade.

"The space won from 1985 to 1988, we paid for in blood," UNTS leader Centeno said. A measure of the opportunities opened up was the fact that opposition politicians like Rubén Zamora of the Social-Christian People's Movement (MPSC) and Guillermo Ungo of the Revolutionary National Movement (MNR) were able to return freely to the country at the end of 1987. By March 1991 the MPSC, MNR, and the Communist Party's electoral formation, the Nationalist Democratic Union, won seats in the newly ex-



A crowd gathered in San Salvador's Civic Plaza to celebrate the end of the 11-year-old civil war. Despite a decade of severe repression, Washington and the Salvadoran regime had failed to break the resistance of working people. Banners of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front decorated the plaza.

panded legislative assembly.

At the same time, the guerrilla leadership sought to use the group's military strength as a means to exert pressure on the government. In November 1989 it launched a major offensive in San Salvador and other key cities. The government responded with harsh repression including indiscriminate bombing of working-class neighborhoods. In the middle of the offensive the army murdered six prominent Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter. At the end of the fighting 2,000 people were dead.

Through the offensive, the rebels had shown a capable fighting force that could strike the government anywhere in the country. A decade of war and repression notwithstanding, Washington and the Salvadoran regime had failed to break the resistance of working people or defeat the FMLN.

By then, however, the FMLN leadership had also retreated from its originally stated objective of fighting to take power out of the hands of the landlord-capitalist regime and use it to advance the interests of the workers and peasants.

Now FMLN leaders say their goal is the "demilitarization" of the Salvadoran society and the achievement of guarantees to allow open participation in political life in the country. They have called for a "social pact" between workers, capitalists, and the government to develop the country. This can only be done, they say, by distributing land to the poor peasants and guaranteeing union rights.

After 11 years of "a conflict that killed

75,000 people and uprooted a million," a January 3 *New York Times* editorial stated, this became "a war neither can win."

In April 1990, after the regime had scuttled several negotiations attempts, the FMLN and the government of El Salvador signed an accord in Geneva, Switzerland, accepting the mediation of the United Nations in the peace talks. This, in turn, paved the way for a series of talks culminating in the final official signing of the agreements in Mexico City January 16.

In recent months the regime has been faced with an increasingly ailing economy. Conditions have led to a renewed upsurge in labor fights, according to Centeno. In December 30,000 workers went on strike against the public works and treasury ministries, winning an increase in their year-end bonus, the UNTS leader said.

Explaining the winning of wider democratic rights, Centeno said that the opposition forces have quickly and effectively mobilized unionists and other activists in response to repressive actions by the regime. This has been reflected, for example, in the drop in the number of abductions by the regime in the urban areas and the fact that "there are currently 70 political prisoners. In 1987 there were 1,300."

The UNTS leader said that with the end of the war working people in El Salvador face "two big challenges: organizing the people, and involving them in the burst of political life that will begin with the end of the armed struggle."

### Swedish cops seek wider surveillance power

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Following a series of bombings and bomb threats here, police are seeking wider powers to tap telephones and lock up young people without charging them. These moves also follow a clash between demonstrators opposing Sweden's recently introduced anti-immigrant laws and rightists last November 30.

A bomb exploded December 30 in the central railway station in Stockhom. After somebody warned police, the station was evacuated. The bomb detonated when the police were using a robot to remove the bomb. A policeman was lightly injured.

The same day a bomb threat was made against the Arlanda Airport in Stockholm.

The police evacuated the airport but found no bomb. Airports in Växjö and Gothenburg received similar threats, as did the central station in Malmö, in the south of Sweden. No bombs were found in any of these cases. Also on December 30 a worker discovered a parcel with a bomb in a post office in Gothenburg The parcel was addressed to prominent antiracist activist Uni Brandeby.

Björn Axelsson, the police officer in charge of the investigation in Stockholm, told newspapers that "ultrarightist groups were suspected of placing the bomb in the Stockholm train station."

After a confrontation between ultrarightists and demonstrators against the immigration laws around the statue of King Carl XII November 30, Swedish police chief Björn Eriksson said, "We will undertake a big effort to find the extremists and criminals who took part in the riots."

Minister of Justice Gun Hellsvik backed Eriksson and proposed giving the police powers to keep youth in special homes over weekends, supposedly to prevent crime.

The police here already have some legal powers to tap telephones to investigate certain crimes, after approval by a court. Now they want to widen these powers, including the right to look into airlines' passenger lists and to carry out electronic bugging. This has provoked a debate within the ruling class where some back these demands and others hesitate to implement them.